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B R I T A I N's
C O M M E R C I A L I N T E R E S T
E X P L A I N E D and I M P R O V E D;

In a S E R I E S of
D I S S E R T A T I O N S
O N
S e v e r a l I m p o r t a n t B R A N C H E S of her
T R A D E and P O L I C E :

C O N T A I N I N G
A C a n d i d E N Q U I R Y into the *secret Causes* of the
present Misfortunes of the Nation.

W I T H
P R O P O S A L S for their R E M E D Y.

A L S O
The great Advantages which would accrue to this
Kingdom from an Union with IRELAND.

B Y
M A L A C H Y P O S T L E T H W A Y T, E s q;

A U T H O R of the
U N I V E R S A L D I C T I O N A R Y of T R A D E and C O M M E R C E, &c.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

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BRITAIN'S
W. Mugger
EXPLAINED





T O
H I S G R A C E
T H E
Duke of RUTLAND,

Lord High Steward of His Majesty's
Houshold, and one of His Majesty's
most honourable Privy-Council.

MY LORD,

HOWEVER parties may
differ about other things,
they seem all to agree that
the nation is, at present, re-
duced to a very melancholy state, and
not easily to be restored to that
A 2 splendor,

splendor, weight, and dignity in Europe, that she formerly maintained. Various are the sentiments of the public in relation to the cause or causes hereof. Though our national debts and taxes are a clog to our affairs; yet the people do not seem averse to any expence, provided the kingdom could be happily restored to such a prosperous condition as to make the figure she has heretofore done.

CERTAIN it is, that we are destitute, at this juncture, of all maritime allies; and therefore it seems we must stand alone, and fight our own battles by sea, whatever allies may be obtained by land.

THAT the naval power of France seems capable of coping with ours at present, is not much doubted: and if our enemy should gain over to her interest any powerful maritime ally, we may soon see our naval force humbled, and all our commercial resources cut off, and then the fate of this nation will soon be determined.

BUT

BUT if, My Lord, the court of Spain should not join France against Great Britain with that considerable maritime power she has raised, and Spain should judge a neutrality more eligible than to engage in a war against this nation; a Spanish neutrality does not seem to promise such advantages to Great Britain as to *France*. In such case, the Spaniards will uninterruptedly carry home their treasure from the Spanish Indies, and their revenues reap the same benefit as in time of peace. The active commerce into which that nation has struck, will enable them to be maritime carriers for France, and use every art to secrete French property, and supply them with contraband goods, while England seems capable of receiving little advantage by such neutrality.

THE ports of Spain being opened to Great Britain, we may indeed employ the Spaniards to bring us in their own bottoms all the produce

of Old and New Spain ; and we may employ them also to carry such of our merchandizes in return as they shall think proper to take : but it is our misfortune, My Lord, that the increasing dearness of our commodities, compared with the price of French ones, is no temptation to the Spaniards to purchase ours for their own account, in preference to those of France. And if they carry them for British account, it is to be doubted whether they would be so solicitous to cover British as French property ; whereby our Spanish exporters might be ruined by such precarious adventures, while the Spaniards would grow greater and greater gainers by our importation of their commodities.

It is well enough known, My Lord, among the mercantile world, what great gainers the French at present are by the neutrality of the Dutch, the Hamburgers, and their other carriers, while we gain little by them. These neutralities serve the
interest

interest of France far more than their acting with them as principals in war could do; for these neutral carriers and traders extend the commerce of France in time of war, more than she herself does in times of peace; and what she loses in point of freight is amply compensated in her savings by insurance. Our enemies thus carrying on their commerce by the means of neutral states, have their mercantile shipping at leisure to be converted into private ships of war, and many of them are become a part of the royal navy of France. Thus these neutralities augment the maritime force of France, and uphold their revenues arising by trade in good plight, while they tend to reduce ours, and render us less capable of annoying the commerce of the enemy, and the enemy more capable of annoying ours, because we are chiefly our own carriers, run all risks ourselves, and our trade loaded with the heavy article

of insurance, while that of France is exempt from such burthen.

It should seem, therefore, to appear, My Lord Duke, that these neutralities put it out of the power of our naval force to exert itself so much against the commerce and navigation of the enemy, as they enable the enemy to exert theirs against ours. The policy in France by encreasing maritime neutralities, will, it is to be feared, supply any supposed deficiency in their maritime force when compared with ours; and, therefore, how long the enemy may, by such a system, be able to carry on the war, is not easy to say; nor what advantages they may reap, by having their naval strength at liberty to act offensively, while their trade is beneficially conducted by the arts and collusion of neutral states.

THE true *causes* of our labouring under these, and many other disadvantages with the enemy, at present, I have endeavoured to point out distinctly

tinctly in the following discourses, and that, I am willing to hope, with all candour and impartiality; it not being my intention to inflame, but conciliate distractions, and to promote and cement union and harmony amongst our rulers, that they may be at ease to join their heads and their hearts to save the kingdom from that ruin, with which it seems to be threatened.

THAT the things which are, would come to pass, any man of plain sense, who attended to the commercial schemes of power that have been many years hatching for our destruction, might easily discern. As I have pretty vigilantly attended to such like affairs, so I have endeavoured from time to time, to communicate my fears and apprehensions of those events, which have, in a great measure, taken place.

THIS I have done, and I hope with all decency and moderation, in my Dictionary of Commerce; which

Your

Your Grace, and your noble family have done me the honour to patronize. And, however, difficult, and indeed next to impossible it may be for a public writer upon those delicate subjects to obtain the candid regard of all amidst our unhappy party divisions; yet I have the satisfaction to experience that my humble endeavours to be useful have been generally acceptable, which I can ascribe to nothing but that undisguised honest zeal that I have endeavoured to manifest throughout all my writings to promote the public prosperity and happiness.

No sooner had I finished that performance than I set about another, which Your Grace knows took its rise from some conversations that I had the honour to have with a noble Lord, very nearly allied to your Grace, my other honoured patron, and which I published the last year, under the title of Great Britain's true system; wherein I have endeavoured to shew
the

the reasonableness, the necessity and practicability of raising *supplies* to carry on wars within the year, without further encreasing the public debts: which tract, being necessary, as I judged, to make it's appearance the last year, when the ministry were unsettled, as at present, I addressed that work to all the great men *In* and *Out* of power, thinking *That* the most inoffensive way to procure a subject of that kind a favourable attention by all parties: and if some events had not fell out, it is likely that subject might have been taken into consideration the last session of parliament. But as we soon hope for a settled and a united administration, that will exert their utmost efforts in the service of the nation, we may hope likewise that a subject of such high concernment will not be passed over in silence the next session; because measures are necessary to be changed, and among the rest, none is more needful than to put a stop to the encrease
of

of the national debts, and all *perpetual* taxes. For,

LET who will, My Lord, be ministers of state, I humbly apprehend that a step of this kind must do them honour, and convince the nation that measures as well as men will be changed. Nor can any domestic conduct contribute more than such, as will appear throughout this treatise, to give the nation that desirable weight and influence at foreign courts, which is so necessary to our affairs at this critical conjuncture.

THOUGH this will prove one good remedy for the cure of many of our political maladies; yet, My Lord, we shall be mistaken, if we flatter ourselves, that this alone will be a sovereign specific for all our national distempers. No: our state-diseases are numerous and complicated, and they cannot be eradicated by the application of any one medicine: but, perhaps, there cannot be a better general preparative, than what is humbly recommended

commended, to render all other political phyfic duly operative and efficacious.

THE skilful phyfician tells us, that a discovery of the true cause of our personal maladies is half the cure. It is the same by those of the state. And the humble aim of the ensuing treatise, is a candid and impartial enquiry into divers material species of distemper, wherewith the kingdom is overwhelmed; for when those are faithfully laid open, the very distempers themselves will suggest to our state physicians, the specific cure of each in their turn.

I will not presume to say, My Lord, that I have represented every national evil under which we labour. That could not be done within the limits to which I have at present, restrained myself. I have, however, brought to light some of the more material, and those chiefly of a commercial kind: for such drying up the channels of treasure, whereby the state

I

must

must be supported, if we open those channels, they will overflow us with wealth competent to enable us to get the better of every evil, and bring about that happy state-reformation so much desired by every true patriot, and by none more than by Your Grace, as I have had the honour to know by experience from a series of conversation.

AND here I crave leave, with all submission, to put Your Grace in mind of one of our state-maladies, which is greatly in Your Grace's power to cure: it is a very malignant one indeed; but if it is not cured, and that radically too, I am afraid, My Lord, that all other evils will become incurable. This malady is of so pernicious and so destructive a nature, that it renders us the contempt of all wise and honest men at home, and the ridicule of all foreign states abroad: it is unspeakably injurious to the peace of mind and the health of our aged sovereign; it distracts his councils, it makes our great
men

men odious to the people in general, and renders them incapable of treating with foreign courts with any sort of weight and dignity.

HAVING described the characteristics of the destructive distemper to which I allude, it will be needless to say, that I mean our ministerial distractions; which have disturbed and distracted the whole nation, as well as quite alienated the regard of our foreign friends, and given spirit and influence to our enemies: and I should heartily rejoice with numberless sincere well-wishers to the kingdom, that Your Grace, in concert with others of the first distinction no less public-spirited, would interpose your patriot good offices to cure this destructive malady. Would Your Grace undertake the task, I could with credit undertake to prophecy, that you could not fail of success.

By declining all ministerial character, and conducting yourself with candour towards all parties, you have
be-

become beloved by all, My Lord; and they will all hear your Grace with that deference no less due to the greatness of your talents, than the goodness of your heart. What then can hinder Your Grace from becoming the happy instrument of uniting the wisest and the ablest men in the nation in the service of their king and country? If it be necessary to join the old ministry with the new, no one is more capable of reconciling past differences, and healing all personal breaches and animosities than Your Grace.

THERE never was a time, My Lord, when a happy union amongst the best and the wisest men in the nation, was more necessary than at present, because it is my humble opinion that this nation was never in more imminent danger; and why I think so, will appear in the course of this tract.

THE points taken into consideration in the ensuing treatise being of the
last

last consequence to the nation at all times, and the light wherein they are placed being such as is highly seasonable and interesting to our affairs at present; it is humbly hoped and presumed, that here is nothing urged but what may deserve the serious attention of any ministry. And that no disgust might be taken at the matter urged, by reason of the manner of its representation, I have studiously avoided whatever might prove disagreeable in that shape: yet I have been obliged to go to the root of our evils, or they could never be put in such a point of view as ever to become cured.

BESIDES the particulars herein nakedly exhibited, and openly animadverted on, Your Grace will please to observe, that I have a reserve of many things very imprudent to be thus publicly discussed. This I could not do without manifest injury to the nation, because it would give more advantage to the enemy than all their

fleets and armies, by putting it in their power to defeat the execution of what would prove so detrimental to them, and so beneficial to this kingdom: and therefore I hope Your Grace will prove the happy instrument of causing all my endeavours to serve the nation to be laid properly before the administration, when the same shall be settled; humbly apprehending that they will be found, on due examination, to be calculated for the honour and interest of his majesty and his kingdoms.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Most devoted,

And obedient

Humble servant,

MALACHY POSTLETHWAYT.



C O N T E N T S

TO THE

F I R S T V O L U M E :

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Of the LANDED INTEREST, in relation to the cultivation of waste land; with a view to prevent a future scarcity of grain and all other provisions in the kingdom; in order to render the necessaries of life, labour and manufactures cheap, the better to enable us to maintain a competition in trade and navigation with foreign nations.

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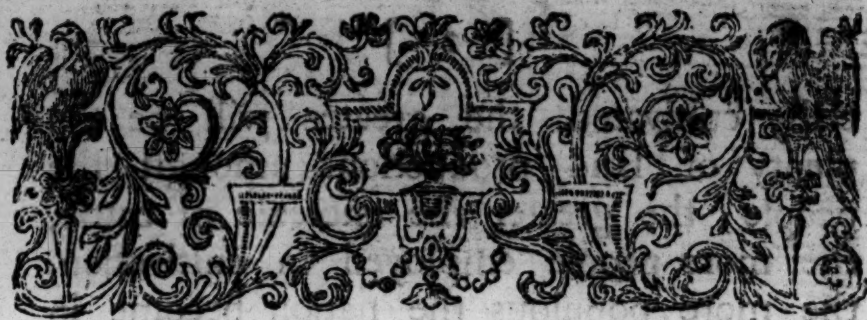
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P O L I.



POLITICAL
DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

British trade, and commerce, and other
interesting subjects, &c.

DISSERTATION I.

*Of the LANDED INTEREST, in relation to
the cultivation of waste land; with a view
to prevent a future scarcity of grain and
all other provisions in the kingdom; in order
to render the necessaries of life, labour and
manufactures cheap, the better to enable us
to maintain a competition in trade and navi-
gation with foreign nations.*

A VERY essential object of traffic and
commerce, requisite to the suste-
nance and convenience of human life
being produced by the earth, the
more our land in general shall be improved, and
the greater quantity thereof shall be bene-
ficially

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cially cultivated, the greater will be the plenty of land productions amongst the people; the greater the encrease of cattle, the more people employed in cultivation, the more populous the nation become in useful and industrious hands, and the more comfortably and happily will the whole body of the nation be subsisted: And in consequence of all, the more our internal as well as external traffic shall be promoted, the wealthier and more powerful will be the state.

As those productions in the general shall be from time to time augmented, so will the general consumption; and the greater the plenty shall be, the cheaper will every thing necessarily become, whereby money will naturally grow more universally plenty in the general circulation; for, in such case, less money will purchase every thing in proportion as the plenty of productions shall reduce the price, with respect to the demand.

If this general improvement of the old lands, and cultivation of fresh, be extended to the due political degree it will admit of in this nation, the universal plenty of all things will be so magnified, as to render the price of the necessaries of life no more than one half, or even one third what it is at present. This will inevitably reduce the general price of labour, that being regulated by the price of the necessaries of life: and will not this render all our fabrics and manufac-

manufactures cheaper, since their value is constituted according to the rate, at which labourers, artificers and manufacturers can subsist? Will not such reductions make the quantity of money at present in circulation extend farther, and consequently become more plentiful amongst the mass of the people, and this without any addition to the quantity of national specie?

THIS policy will enable us to fabricate our staple, and other new invented manufactures at lower rates. It also will abundantly extend our exportation; not only to those foreign states, and empires that are our present purchasers, but will attract us new customers; such other who are not capable of purchasing our commodities, by reason of their dearthness; while they consume immense quantities of those of our rivals, because of their greater cheapness. Hereby we cannot fail being enabled continually to augment the value of our exports beyond that of our imports; this will gradually encrease the balances of our trade with many particular nations, and the general balance in the like proportion; which will be brought into the nation in hard money. From which additional plenty of money, the people in general will become greater consumers of the productions of the land, and manufactures, the state grow more and more populous, as things grow cheaper and money more plenty. And money being the sinews of commerce as well

as of war, how can it fail to flourish both at home and abroad? How, under a wise and just administration, can the people fail to be contented and happy, when they sensibly feel and experience a daily advance in their prosperity, and easement of circumstances?

IN countries, where the land cultivated does not afford an ample competency of its productions to make the whole plentiful, and therefore cheap, the people will be unavoidably distressed and miserable, and no chains can restrain them from transmigration from country to country, till they can set down with some degree of consolation under their state of continual labour. This brings depopulation upon such ill-policed states, while it peoples others with industrious inhabitants, who are the great source of wealth, and of power. But plenty of land, well and properly cultivated and improved, according to the soil and climate, will not only afford wherewith to raise and cherish plenty of useful people by natural generation within ourselves, but will draw and captivate them to such a land of Canaan, from every state, where they labour under the Egyptian bondage.

IN proportion as the rents of lands shall be raised above what the plenty of the circulating-money will enable the tenants to pay, certain it is, that the money of a nation will diminish and grow scarcer: and where there is not a quantity of land effectually cultivated to reduce the rents, in proportion to the

the money, the scarcity of money will, at length, grow to such an extreme, as to leave very little in the kingdom. For, where the rents are raised beyond the proportion of money existing to pay them, there everything will rise in its price and value; commerce grow worse and worse, relatively considered with that of other nations, its general balance turn more and more against the dearer nation; and, at length, the country become stripped of its money. And when the trade and the money are once fled to other countries, the people will follow.

THE demand for farms in greater proportion than they were to be had, first raised the rents. This hindered the people from going on in their cultivation of fresh land, as the demand for the same shows they would have done, as they encreased in number. What then could the surplus people do, but throw themselves into trade and professions? And whilst the necessaries of life, the price of labour, and the rents of land have advanced greatly to what they were formerly, have not these things rendered it very difficult for the bulk in those channels to subsist?

THIS must be remedied, or more and more will be daily undone, and will take refuge in other countries. Nor can the gentleman escape injury; for if money becomes so scarce, the produce of the earth will hardly bring sufficient support to the farmer, and pay all charges exclusive of rent: numbers of the

gentry will, at length, be obliged to turn farmers, by taking their lands into their own management, till by the greater general cheapness of all things, money becomes sufficiently plenty to answer the moderate view of an industrious and parsimonious farmer, the motives of trade, and the ends of a wise government: but this will never be the case, till the rents keep pace with the hard circulating-money; and, therefore, either the money of the nation must be encreased in proportion to the rents, or the rents must fall in proportion to the money. But to encrease the money, to keep up the due payments of the rents, can be no otherwise done, than by the encrease of our foreign commerce; nor can this be done, but through the decrease in the price of all things; in the necessaries of life, in the price of labour, and manufactures; and this latter cannot be effected, till the price of rents are reduced in proportion to the quantity of money; and that cannot be accomplished, till a due quantity of waste land is taken into cultivation: and, therefore, to encrease our trade, and thereby our money, we must encrease our land-cultivation, to bring about the desirable consequences above intimated.

IF all the rents of the nation were lowered at the request of the people, or by compulsory laws, this could by no means answer the end of a national prosperity, because the demand for the produce of the earth, at present

sent cultivated, will continue to be equally great, if the people be not diminished, so as to keep the price of things higher than the quantity of circulating-money will enable them to pay for 'em : and till more people are employed in land-cultivation, in order to lessen the number of poor, and occasion greater plenty, all trades, manufactures, and professions will continue so overstocked as to spoil them all, with regard to profit, which is the end of them. It should seem to follow, therefore, that the natural way to lower the rents, can only be, by putting such quantities of waste land into cultivation, as may make farms abound.

NOR does it appear that gentlemen would be sufferers by rents being lowered by the measures suggested. For let it be supposed, that all the lands should be raised 20l. per cent. per Annum ; since that land cultivated would bear no more corn, grass, nor cattle, &c. than it does at present : must not the corn and cattle &c. be advanced in proportion ? Will not the necessaries of life cost the labourer more ; and must not his wages be raised accordingly ? Will not timber for carriages, and other uses, cost more to fell, and hew ; and will not horses to draw the produce of the earth to market be more valuable ; and consequently carriage and every manufacture cost more ? All things would certainly be raised, if money could be found to circulate trade at such an advance. And since gentlemen as well as others would buy every thing

at such an advanced price, how would they be advantaged by receiving 20 l. per cent. per Annum more, and paying that at least, if not more, for what they want?

If it should be said, that this would be the case, with regard to their expence, but not their savings, they will be deceived. For suppose a gentleman of 1000 l. per Annum, now spends 500 l., and lays by 500 l. per Annum; if estates were raised, as supposed, he would than spend 600 l., and lay by 600 l. per Ann. But how would he be the richer, since the price of every thing is raised at least in the like proportion with his lands? For his 600 l. would purchase no more than his 500 l. did before.

As to the purchase of estates, which is always governed by the interest of money, they will be valued at as many years purchase as they would be, if rents had not fallen; and though the sums they sell for must be less, in proportion as the rent shall be lowered; yet the money will have, at least, all the same effects, apply the same how you please.

If all the lands were raised 20 per cent. per annum, this would not make them produce more; but perhaps less, than they now do, by putting it, in some degree, out of the farmers power to make use of so much skill and expence, to cultivate them, as they could do before their rents were so raised: since this advance of rent would not tend to encrease the produce, all the produce must be sold, not only for all the 20 pounds more, but there

there must be profits likewise on all those 20 pounds, to enable the farmers to purchase whatever they want at higher prices, to which every thing must be advanced from thus raising the produce; as it passeth through every hand, and at length the manufacturing part also: this would still proportionably encrease the profits on the first raised prime costs, before it reached the consumer; who, therefore, must in the end, not only pay all the advanced 20 pounds rent, but also the necessary profits arising thereon, through all the several hands it passed: and since the labour, which adds the greatest value to every thing, will, in this case, be enhanced; it is apparent, that the same quantity of produce must be dearer by all the first advanced 20 pounds rent, and by suitable profits to all the several hands through which it must necessarily go, together with a greater charge of labour thereon: whence it appears, that if the same quantity of produce must thus cost a great deal more, than all the 20 l. rent, by which it was first enhanced, the several parts thereof must cost more likewise in such proportion; so that we may not scruple to assert, that 140 l. could not in this case purchase what 100 l. now doth; whereby gentlemen, who are consumers in common with others, would become much the poorer for so raising their estates: and, therefore, it should seem consequently manifest, that they would be the richer for lowering their estates

20 or 30 per cent. per Annum, by the cultivation of more land, since it must be no less certain, that 70 or 80 l. would purchase more in this case, than 100 l. doth at present, as it is evident that 120 l. in the other case, would not purchase so much as 100 l. doth now : so that if rents should fall 30 per cent, by the means proposed, every thing would certainly fall in the like proportion, whereby gentlemen would lose nothing but the nominal sound of so much per Annum.

THIS may serve to evince, why gentlemen cannot live so well and hospitably on the same estates, as their ancestors did, who had considerably less nominal income than their successors. If, therefore, gentlemen find themselves streightened, by raising rents, above what the money circulating amongst the people will enable them to pay ; must not this encrease the streights and difficulties of the people on whom such heavy rents are raised, and account for their arrearages, and badness of payment ?

IF the rents are raised so much as to carry the price of goods to the consumer, to higher rates than the money they can acquire will enable them to purchase, what they want, this makes a kind of unnatural plenty of goods, presenting themselves for buyers, who though they really want them, cannot find money to purchase them ; and, therefore, are obliged to abridge their necessary wants and occasions as much as they can. This lessens
the

the value of those goods (which in the end must want buyers) below the rates which the rents have made necessary. Will not this keep the produce of lands so low, that it will not answer to bring to market? whence gentlemen must find it difficult, if not impossible, to get their rents; whilst at the same time, whatever they purchase, as hath been shown, will necessarily become dearer in a greater proportion than the rents can be raised: provided such rents in general do not nearly quadrate with the quantity of circulating-money, that will always purchase the most of every thing at the cheapest rates.

POLITICAL arithmeticians all allow that mankind do naturally encrease; and this nation of ours has considerably encreased in people within these two centuries; notwithstanding our civil and external wars, plagues, and those drains of people that have been made from hence to supply our plantations, since our American settlements have taken place. The city of London hath doubled itself within these fourscore years, notwithstanding the last great plague; and the country hath also encreased, though not in the like, yet in a considerable degree and proportion. If this is a truth, ought not our encrease in the general cultivation of lands to keep pace with the encrease of the inhabitants?

MEN enter the stage of life to raise a new generation, and then withdraw behind the curtain

curtain. The term of life, that men are found to enjoy the one with the other, from the time of marriage to that of death, is little more than 20 years: in which period, one marriage with another, we will suppose, does not produce above four children, who live to man's estate. If a gentleman of 1000 l. per Annum, to make provision for his children, lays by one half thereof annually; this in 20 years will be 10,000; which, including the widow's share, which often happens, can not exceed 2500 l. for each child. This is not only much inferior to the estate, out of which it was saved; but the interest being a scanty provision for the son of a person of 1000 l. per Annum, to subsist on, most of the children will be introduced into some trade or profession; in order to improve their money, to raise new families, or they will soon annihilate their principal.

If trade be languishing and distressed, many such will sink in the general calamity. If it be said, men must retrench their expence; will not this lessen the consumption of every thing, and make so much less circulation of business among the people? Will not this occasion an encrease in the number of the poor? Where the poor encrease, will not the profits on trade be more and more reduced, through losses and want of trade; and through the efforts of such additional numbers of indigent people, who will struggle hard to support themselves in

in that share of business which shall remain?

INSTEAD of urging the diminution of the home-consumption of our native commodities, is it not better policy to make all things so plentiful, and so cheap, that the people in general may become greater, instead of less consumers thereof? This will encrease and not lessen trade and business amongst the people, in proportion as they shall augment in numbers. Luxury will then find its natural boundaries, which if men extraordinarily transgress, they will be sufficiently whipt with their own rod.

THE lowness of our interest of money brings more people into trade, who either cannot, or do not chuse to subsist only on such small interest; and, therefore, they will engage in trade to improve their fortunes and better their income. The moneyed-interest having abundance of cash to employ, will take a great share of business out of the hands of those who are already engaged therein, by carrying it on at much less profit than it was done before; that they may employ the large sums which they are capable of throwing into trade. This makes it difficult for people of less fortune to gain subsistence; whereby many become distressed, and the number of poor multiplied; and it is no wonder that people are incapable of paying rents, that houses are emptied, and the inhabitants flock to other nations to gain bread by the arts they have

have learned in this. Thus we lose our artificers and manufacturers; foreign rivals thereby supplant us in our trade, and aggrandize themselves upon our impoverishment.

WE have before observed, that mankind naturally encrease in number; wherefore this encrease must continually be provided for in cultivating proportionably more land. If they are not, they being all consumers, there must perpetually be greater numbers subsisted on the produce of the same land, which was before cultivated: this will necessarily encrease the demand for its produce, and enhance its price, whilst the encreasing people must employ themselves solely in trade, manufactures, and other professions for subsistence. Will it not hence follow, that trades and manufactures, &c. will soon be overmultiplied, and the encreased people become indigent and distressed; seeing the necessaries of life, for which the bulk ultimately work, will all the while be growing dearer, and the inhabitants less and less able to purchase them?

THE proportion in which mankind have been computed to encrease, according to Sir Wm. Petty's is, that they will absolutely double themselves in 360 years, notwithstanding wars, and plagues, &c. Should we reason upon this foundation, the quantity of land, which should be taken every year into cultivation, must be at least $\frac{1}{360}$ part of the quantity at present in cultivation. If England be 320 miles long and 290 miles wide, it will contain

tain 92,800 square miles, supposing its length and breadth to be everywhere alike: but as England is not so regular a figure, $\frac{1}{7}$ may be deducted for its irregularity, towns and rivers; and there will remain about 62,000 square miles contained therein.

WE will suppose, that not above one half, *viz.* 31,000 square miles are cultivated; $\frac{1}{80}$ part thereof, *viz.* 86 square miles, at least, should every year be further added by cultivation, to hold proportion to the natural encrease of mankind. Provided a greater part of England be already improved than has been supposed; and mankind should encrease faster than Sir Wm. asserts, the annual addition should be greater in proportion: and if mankind do not encrease in the degree they would, by nature; it is an infallible criterion that the natural plenty is by ill policy obstructed.

BUT as nothing like this additional cultivation has hitherto taken place, it is demonstrable, that from hence all trades, occupations, manufactures and professions have been multiplied and overburthened with numbers, and embarrassed with difficulties and poverty. Yet hereby rents have been advanced by the demand for land, which the encrease of people has occasioned: whence living has become more chargeable than formerly, and the people less able to support themselves. Besides, enhancing the price of necessaries hath either advanced the price of our commodities
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in general, or tended to diminish their vent, and make them worse in quality, so that our neighbouring nations have not purchased such quantities as they would have otherwise done; though we have not taken less of foreign commodities in general.

EXPERIENCE hath sufficiently shown, that the people of any nation will diminish where the *means* of getting a livelyhood, suitable to their several ranks and stations, do so: this is a *necessary consequence*, where the balance of trade becomes considerably against any nation; it being evident, that such a nation hath amongst them just so much business less than their own several wants create, as the sum total of that balance against them happens to be. This lessening the national specie, at the same time, in the like degree also, is attended with a double inconvenience; the want of money, and the want of employment; and if things are suffered to continue in the same course, is it to be admired, that the people should forsake the kingdom? Does not experience as well as reason show, that the people will always encrease in that country in whose favour the balance of trade is?

LEST any should imagine that the laying so great stress on the cultivation of quantities of land, in proportion to the encrease of people, is any way extravagant; it should be considered, that the extent of such additional cultivation will naturally find its bounds; for that will stop of itself, when the plenty becomes

comes too great to turn to private advantage; which arises chiefly from too high rents, or the employment of too many people in husbandry and agriculture. Of the latter of these, indeed, we can scarce ever be in danger. But if this should be the case, since the people only make a miserable shift to live now, there is an evident necessity to cultivate much more land to employ them, to make trade flourish, which creates additional treasures.

MEASURES of this kind carried amply and effectually into execution, appear to be the natural means to prevent the clandestine exportation of our wool; for experience has shown that the best laws, and most rigorous penalties will not obstruct it; which, though it makes the same come considerably dearer to foreigners than to our own manufacturers; yet they find their account in its purchase. But they could not afford to purchase our wool at such rates, and under such difficulties as they now do, provided their people in general could not live considerably cheaper than ours do, and give their labour and workmanship considerably cheaper. Notwithstanding our wool costs them so much dearer than it does us; yet from the other causes before-mentioned they are capable of making manufactures cheaper for themselves than they can have them from us; and sell them cheaper to other nations.

AND if our fabrics continue to advance in price, from the greater price of victuals and drink, and the encrease of public debts and taxes, their manufactures may become so comparatively cheap, and ours, at length, so dear, as to get their woollen goods imported into this nation, and beat us out of this branch of our own trade even amongst ourselves. This will reduce us again to the state we were in, when the Flanderskins purchased our wool, and supplied us with manufactures fabricated of our own material. But if we shall be able to reduce the necessaries of life to such a degree as will enable us to sell our commodities as cheap as other nations can do, the running of wool will stop of itself; for, we shall then be able to export our manufactures so extremely cheap as to prevent them putting themselves to such extraordinary expence and difficulties to obtain our wool, as they at present do.

THIS would no less augment the consumption of our wool at home than abroad. For when the price of woollen apparel of all kinds came to be reduced, the people in general would cloathe better and oftner than they can afford to do at present. From the encrease of our domestic as well as foreign consumption, our woollen manufactures, which now rot in our warehouses, would be in as quick and as great demand as they could be fabricated; and when we had calls of our own
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for the wool, people would be under no temptation to run it.

IF so great a quantity of waste land were annually cultivated, as would hold proportion, not only to the natural encrease of mankind, but such an additional quantity besides, as would lower the price of necessaries so much as shall be effectual to enable the poor to work considerably cheaper than they can now do: When this came to be the case, there would be a proportional quantity of work created, which is now wanted to give due employment to all people, and enable the poor to subsist without being a public incumbrance; the bulk of the inhabitants would become much greater consumers of every thing, than they ever can be, till the plenty of every thing is rendered great enough to encourage a more abundant consumption.

THE effectual execution of this additional land-cultivation would prove a great encouragement to matrimony; since the means of a livelihood for families would hereby be facilitated, and the marriage state relieved from the melancholy difficulties it labours under, in making provision for families. This would cause much less fortunes to be required in marriage; since not only much less sums would transact much larger affairs, but there would arise abundant more business every way in general; whence young men would not have occasion for such precautions, as are now prudentially needful to all that will

marry. Should we not then be far from finding near a fourth part of our traders single men, as many with some reason conjecture the case to be? To this cause, may we not attribute the great number of prostitutes of the other sex; which, perhaps, can never be so effectually remedied, as by this means making the marriage state more tolerable in point of expence?

THOUGH nothing can be more apparent than that the measures suggested, will occasion abundantly more lucrative trade and business in the nation, than, at present, exists; yet this point may be farther corroborated, from the consideration of the general condition and circumstances of people; seven eighths of whom, in much better times of trade and business, have been by good politicians reckoned to be destitute of property either in themselves, or in the chief of their families, and therefore are necessitated to labour for their daily bread.

SEVEN eighths of so large a body, as the people of this kingdom, must necessarily have a proportionate influence on the trade of it, if we consider them, as being not one half the consumers they might and ought to be. For, on an average working men are reckoned to earn, from 10 to 12 shillings per week, when all deductions are made for lost time, want of work, and sickness: This is the utmost one man with another can earn for himself and family; which being but 26 l., or
30 l.

30 *l.* per annum, is but about one half what is necessary for the support and maintenance of a working man's family, in the meanest manner it can be done. Does not this, therefore, show the usefulness and necessity of making the general plenty so much the greater, that every thing may be thereby rendered much cheaper, that there may arise more employment for the poor, and their wants be better supplied? Will not this necessarily create so much more trade and business amongst all the classes of trading people?

THE wants of mankind, if amply and not scantily and meanly supplied, according to their various ranks and conditions in life, are sufficient to give ample employment to all that must get their living by their labour and diligence. For if seven eighths of the people were, as they might and ought to be, according to the dictates of nature and reason, double the consumers they are; it would rather be a question; whether mankind are able to supply all their wants, than whether the wants of mankind are sufficient to give full employment to those that want it?

Is not this an invincible argument in favour of mutual intercourses of commerce between distant nations? since if any nation makes goods for us, we must likewise make goods for them, or some other nation, and so reciprocally for each other; provided our goods are made sufficiently cheap to maintain such commercial dealings. If so, what a

number of people will every state and empire be able, by the means of maritime commerce, with all its appendages, to sustain more than any such state or empire could do, without such trading employment and negotiations? For, if the people had not such kind of employment, must they not fall into agriculture? In such case, would not the same number of people require a prodigious greater extent of territory to support them, than in the former way? Would not their affluence in general be likewise proportionably diminished? Nor would such a nation be near so potent and formidable.

If any certain quantity of land well cultivated and improved will produce corn and cattle, and other necessaries for the use of man, when only $\frac{1}{3}$ of the people, we will suppose, are employed this way, whilst the other part is employed in trade and maritime commerce; if the people can be subsisted, while their commerce not only employs $\frac{2}{3}$ of them, but brings them gold and silver without mines; does not this create distributive affluence, strength and power amongst the people in general? Will not all interruptions of such maritime traffic, whilst it continues gainful to the nation, lessen the general affluence, strength and power? When any branch of commerce lessens the cash of a nation, some statesmen think it right to suppress or restrain the same by high duties or prohibitions. Does not such like policy always beget high duties

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or prohibitions on our trade, so as to prevent our having a lucrative one, if such nations can prevent the same; it being a losing trade to them, in proportion as it proves otherwise to us? As maritime commerce is lessened by these mutual restraints, so many people must loose their employments in every such nation: and to what other employment can they have recourse but to husbandry and agriculture? Will not hereby their domestic trade languish as their maritime does, since the former depends on the latter? Will not this likewise decrease the maritime force of the kingdom in the like degree?

If every nation, instead of having occasion for such restraints or prohibitions would make their produce, &c. cheap enough; which, by the means suggested, is always in their power to answer to the real benefit of every part of the community; their good and cheap commodities will force themselves by these commanding qualities, on some other nations at least; and in some degree on those too, perhaps, who shall endeavour to restrain them. Does not this seem to be the more natural, and, therefore, the more effectual way to preserve and advance our maritime commerce? Do not these obvious reflections indicate the folly of restraining trade this way, and discover plain and easy methods to make our people happy in trade without such restraint, or indeed without ever

going to war about it ? for war is no less destructive of trade than it is of the peace and felicity of human nature.

If the produce of our lands were doubled, it would certainly be consumed, since the wages of the labouring people, who are the bulk of mankind, are not sufficient to purchase above one half the necessaries such a family requires. But the produce of the earth cannot be doubled, unless the quantity be so likewise ; for the quantity in cultivation produces as much as it well can. It follows, therefore, there must be double the quantity of land to yield double the quantity of produce ; which would be consumed without altering the several conditions of men in any respect, but that of being as duly and comfortably supported as they have a right to be by nature. And is it not the duty of the state to see that they have the full enjoyment and fruition of all that the great author of their being has entitled them to from the immutable laws he has established for their subsistence, preservation, and encrease ?

To double the produce there requires double the number of people to be employed in land-cultivation : but it is evident that trade and manufactures, could not spare half such a number, without making commerce much too profitable to traders to suffer half so many people to employ themselves upon land. As it is the demand that fixes the price of things, if so many persons were
taken

taken out of trade, as only half the additional quantity of land in cultivation would require to improve it, traders and manufacturers, &c. would be able to exact what price they pleased for their labour and business. Whence, may we not discern, that all the produce of land and manufactures would be wanted and used, if things were put on the happy footing we have supposed? Are not the wants of mankind as great as their abilities, and the earth capable of supplying them? Does it not hence appear, that want of trade and employment amongst the people, is solely owing to there not being land enough in cultivation to support and employ them?

If the present quantity of land productions were to be augmented one fourth only (and perhaps people enough might be spared out of trade, and manufactures, &c. to accomplish this) it would fall the price of the produce one half. For since farmers must, in this case, be one fourth more numerous than at present, the rents of lands would necessarily be lowered; and if the produce is augmented one fourth; these things considered together, could hardly fail to lower the produce one half: this would lower labour also, the working people being under no less necessity than they are now, to work as cheap as they can. For, if the produce cannot be doubled, to make the working people consume double what they do, if they could get it;

it ; if the produce cannot be encreased one half, nor, perhaps, hardly one fourth, would not absolute necessity oblige the working class to give their labour as cheap as possible, that they may supply their wants as far as they can, which must be considerably abridged notwithstanding the additional plenty, of a fourth in land-productions ; and notwithstanding too, that there would, in this case, be so much more employment for the working people, as would fill up the whole time they have to labour in ?

IN order to reduce labour, the necessaries of life should be lowered about one half, that 5 or 6 shillings might purchase as much as 10 or 12 will now do ; and then labour might be reduced at least one fourth, and the labouring people be enabled, notwithstanding, to purchase near half as many more necessaries as their present wages of 10 or 12 shillings per week will do, at the rates these things now go : which would occasion half as much more trade and business amongst the people in general as there now is, or can be till this is done ; and be productive of the other great national advantages, therewith inseparably connected : of which, the removal of many temptations, which tend to destroy the poor, is no inconsiderable one ; for if such additional employment was procured for the working people in general, would they not have less time for tippling, and holy-day making,

ing, especially if proper measures were taken to encourage industry in their respective occupations?

IF we would reduce labour only one fourth part lower than it now goes, there will be a necessity to lower the price of the necessaries of life to about one half the present price; for as it is the demand alone, which gives the value, and fixes the price to every thing, any slender attempts to employ the poor, and make more business this way arise to others, would, by encreasing the demand for labour, rather tend to raise the wages of labouring people, than to lower them. To set this matter in the light intended; it should be observed, that it is the *present rate* of labour only that will be reduced, according to the hypothesis laid down; but *its value*, according to the above maxim will be greater, when the necessaries of life are rendered so much cheaper, that a fourth part less wages will purchase near half as many more necessaries as the *present rates* of labour will admit of. As this is all the reduction of labour hereby aimed at and intended, or which in the nature of the thing is possible; so that this matter may be clearly understood; let it be supposed, that a labouring man's family can be decently maintained, as it may, with about sixteen shillings per week; and that the necessaries of life were lowered to half their present price; as eight shillings would then purchase as much as sixteen will do now;

now ; which is at least a third more than their present wages (as supposed of 10 or 12 shillings per week) will now purchase ; so then labour would really be about $\frac{4}{3}$ part more valuable than it now is, though its rate at the same time be lowered about $\frac{1}{3}$ part also.

If the wisdom of the legislature should ever in earnest think of this matter ; (which, if they will save their trade and the nation effectually from ruin and destruction , I am inclined to think they one day will) we must as fast as possible, improve such large tracks of waste land, as will employ all the hands, we can possibly suffer to be employed this way ; for this nation is a great body of people ; and if we would do things, which they may all sensibly feel the effects of, we must do great things, and strike notable strokes of domestic policy : and will it not be a glorious thing for this kingdom to be able, upon wise and solid principles of government, to reduce the price of necessaries one half ? which we have seen, is absolutely requisite to reduce the present rates of labour, and at the same time supply the labouring people with all things needful and necessary to that station of life, and thereby create so much more business amongst them ? For, without this, trade in general cannot flourish, because all trade depends solely on the consumption ; and yet, from what has been urged, it should seem to appear, that trade will flourish, before the
poor

poor will find it in their power to attain the supplies, we could wish them; since the labour of the poor constitutes the wealth and splendor of the rich: and if it was unreasonable to muzzle the ox that trod out the corn, what name shall we give the measures that render it so difficult for the bulk of mankind, to answer the great end of their own life; and that of raising families to stand in their stead when they are removed, as all soon must be, to give place to succeeding generations of the human species?

THE rule whereby to judge when the necessaries of life should be denominated cheap or dear, is that of the general earning or wages of the labouring people; which cannot be less than such as will procure them a quantity of those essential necessaries of life as will support them to subsist, and go through the labour in which they are engaged with strength and vigor, without injury to their progeny; and to maintain their rising generation comfortably. Whence we may discern when there is, or is not circulating-money sufficient among the people: or, which is equivalent thereto, when there is, or is not land sufficient in cultivation to support them happily; for hence only can these things be principally brought, which are absolutely necessary for their subsistence and the continuance of their species.

WHILST

WHILST a mechanic, or any labouring person, cannot earn so much as will provide comfortably for a middling family of that class ; it is apparent, that money is so much too scarce amongst seven-eighths of the people at least ; or that the land in use is incompetent to sustain them ; and consequently, there will be so much less business and employment amongst the people in general, than is required : whence the distress of numbers will be inevitable.

LAND proprietors would do well to consider, that if seven-eighths of the people must sustain unnatural want and penury, if these consequences are not duly guarded against ; many of their own offspring, in a generation or two, if not sooner, will find themselves in no better situation.

WORKING people being reduced to such distress and difficulties, we say, is unnatural : the great author of our being has made ample provision against them, by affording a full competency of Land to guard against them ; and it is our own fault, our own weakness and folly, and bad policy, not to guard against such evils, when we have it so manifestly in our power.

IF it should be objected, that if all things our gentry consume were of our own produce, they would be the richer for executing this proposal ; yet since they consume so many foreign goods, the prices of which depend on what they cost at the place they are bought ;

bought; they can receive but little alteration by the execution of the design here recommended; that the gentry, therefore, will not be the richer for such a reduction of labour, and of the price of our natural productions and manufactures, as would hereby be effected: if this should be said, it may be replied; that most nations have some commodities peculiar to them; which seem designed by nature to be the foundation of reciprocal commerce between them and some others, who need them, and thereby afford great employment by maritime traffic, and no less communication of general knowledge; which has been, and will be productive of new arts and new trades: and which would not probably have been the case, if those peculiarities in different countries and climates had not existed throughout the world: in this respect, our nation is distinguished as well as others—And, if one nation be distinguished by nature more than another herein; as they will by that means gain more money than such other nation, which is not; so the price of their commodities and labour will be higher in such proportion as one nation shall naturally exceed another in the superior quality of its commodities; and consequently they will not be the richer or more powerful for having more money than their neighbours.

BUT

BUT if we import any kind of goods cheaper than we can now raise them, which otherwise might be as well raised at home; in this case, it becomes indispensably necessary to fall into the practice proposed, in regard to the raising and manufacturing on as good terms ourselves all things, which we stand in need of, or chuse to enjoy. As this should be done to prevent other nations from advantaging themselves by us more than we can sustain; so it would probably more effectually exclude all such foreign goods than the most rigorous laws and prohibitions can do.

IF this method of restraint on foreign trade should be perpetually observed by Great Britain as it ought, our gentry would experience themselves the richer; notwithstanding the consumption of such other foreign goods, as being the peculiarities of other nations, we may be obliged to import, for the sake of maintaining the requisite commercial intercourse. For, when by the means proposed, we have increased our produce to so great a degree as to reduce the rates of labour considerably, and have thereby enabled ourselves to raise many kinds of goods, which we now import, cheaper than we can receive them: when thus our trade is put into such a flourishing condition, the commodities we shall import after this is done, being cheaper than we can raise such goods within ourselves; it is plain the consumption of any such goods cannot

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occasion so great an expence, as they would do to raise them ourselves, if we really could exclude them by acts of parliament. If, therefore, it would be true, as the objection itself allows, that the gentry would be the richer for executing this proposal: if all the goods they consumed and used were the produce of our own country: they must be gainers also, notwithstanding their consumption of any quantity of foreign goods, which we can import and sell at cheaper rates, than we can possibly raise them ourselves; for none but such cheaper foreign goods can ever find vent in any such nation, except they be the peculiarities of other foreign nations; to which an answer has been before given.

THE full execution of this design should seem to be the only means, by which property can be so duely diffused amongst all ranks of people, as the more effectually to promote the general interest of the whole community: For while the working people have not full employment, their labour will be disposed of below its just value; which ought to be a comfortable subsistence for a family suitable to their station—So long as these people in general work so considerably below the point, that their wages are insufficient to support their family, property is not so diffused as it ought to be. This will be attended with many evils, in proportion as the wages of the working people fall short of the point above intimated. For the general consump-

tion can not be so great in the community. Others hereby will accumulate that wealth which by right belongs to the bulk of those people. And these gainers, who are conversant with practical trade, are enabled by their extra-gains to trade on terms too low to admit the middling traders to get a livelihood, according to their rank of life.

SUPPOSE a man, for instance, in trade with 10,000 *l.*, and the reduction of interest has brought many such into several retail trades: suppose such a one, in order to turn his stock once in the year, will vend his goods at 10 per cent. profit; this will produce 1000 *l.* per Annum: let another in the same trade worth 1000 *l.* only, sell at the same rate, (as he must, or have little business) and let him be supposed to turn such a lesser stock twice a year; which, since giving credit is become so general, is as often as such a stock in retail trade can be generally turned; and this, though it may produce 200 *l.* per Annum, is very insufficient to bear all the charges of trade, and support and provide for such a family as it is reasonable they should live; whilst the other trader, making 10 per cent. on his 10,000 *l.* trading-stock, may still more and more encrease it, at the same time that he is bringing on the ruin of many that have but middling capitals. Whence not only the labouring mechanics, but numbers of the other middling people in general, must with them be dispossessed of that share of property,

erty, to which their condition and the good of the community entitle them; for that community will be more powerful, and most happy, that abounds most with people of those middling fortunes. As there do not appear any other more simple and effectual means, whereby property can be diffused amongst the people in general as those submitted; so whenever property shall become thus diffused, it will be sufficiently so, and administer to mankind all the terrestrial felicity their natures seem capable of: whatever there shall then be in the conditions and circumstances of men, they will be such only as the author of nature intended; such as are inseparably connected with civil government, wherein there must be high and low, as long as it shall subsist.

It may also deserve consideration, whether it will not follow from such like policy, that luxury, so far as it is shall be judged detrimental to society, may not be removed. We would not call that state equipage, or way of living, which is suitable to the rank and condition of men, luxury, injurious to society, how pompous soever; if it be restrained within the limits of his estate, to a degree, as will admit of his making provision for his family, according to his rank and dignity; for such splendid living is useful to the community, especially while so prudentially circumscribed. As that man only can be said to be luxurious, in a sense hurtful to society, who

exceeds those bounds; so that nation only can be said to be luxurious, when the people too generally exceed in this respect. That this may be the case of a nation; we may take for granted, and admit, that the one must be reduced to distress, as sure as the other.

THE cause of such national luxury, is owing to too great an inequality of property; whereby too many are enabled to live excessively sumptuous and splendid; whilst the rest, having far less than they really want, are too much depressed: the one side is idolized for their wealth, the other contemned for their poverty. Between these extremes, the chasm seems to be too wide; whence the opulent are imitated, beyond proper limits, by most of those circumstanced within the extremes; which begets luxury detrimental to themselves and families, and not so beneficial to the community as their well regulated luxury might prove.

BUT were property to be diffused, as has been shown it may and ought to be, the labour &c. of people would not come so unreasonably low, as to support such excess on the one hand, or depress the rest to such degree on the other. The natural and just diffusion of property will not only eradicate the luxury injurious to the state and to individuals, but extinguish vice and immorality therewith. For the too great inequality of property, is the source of depravity, and general poverty;

poverty; and vice will ever be connected therewith.

INCREASING the produce of the land, will naturally diffuse such increase amongst the lower and the middling people who alone want it: this will remove the pernicious luxury, that being founded on the too great inequality of property: hence it seems to appear that luxury is not the cause, but the effect of a decay of trade, since such decay is nothing else but the mass of the people wanting many things, which they have a natural right to: and which, for want of employment it is out of their power to procure.

AMIDST the various public benefits attending the effectual execution of this measure, it will not prove the least to many, by preventing the too great a reduction of the interest of money; because the continual inclosing and cultivating so much waste land, as will be needful to the universal diffusion of the plenty hereby recommended, will not only make abundance of estates to be purchased, that are now not worth one fourth, perhaps, of what they will be when improved: but such policy will raise vast quantities of produce and manufactures, to invest that money in; whereby the government may, by wise management, be able to discharge a considerable part of the public debts; which money, if not this way employed and realized, will come again to mar-

ket to seek interest: this will fall the interest; or, which is equivalent, the premiums on money at interest will advance, in such proportion, as the plenty of such money shall encrease; which premiums, with the interest thereof, must in the end be lost, in consideration of receiving three or two per cent. for a time, instead of such interest, as the plenty of money, seeking interest, would naturally bear.

NOR will the nation be able to discharge its public debts, without great public injury, unless the price of all things can be lowered in such proportion as the public securities shall be paid off: for such securities having the operation of money, will keep up the price of all things, in proportion to the quantity. Ought not this to allarm us more if the destructive system of encreasing the public debts shall be still prosecuted? Can any measures prove more effectual to the ruin of our trade, and the introduction of universal poverty, distress and calamity? Will not these things prove unequal to plague, pestilence and famine?

BUT the executing of what is contended for will enable the government gradually to reduce the national debts, and the taxes, without injury, either to the moneyed or trading interest. For, as the produce of the earth, and the consumption thereof, will certainly be greatly encreased, those things always going together, the revenue will encrease likewise: since the malt tax, excise on beer, duty

duty on leather, and tallow, and whatever other articles of the natural produce are taxed would be augmented as the produce and the consumption should be augmented: if at the same time also the circumstances of the people in general shall become amended, as seems apparent they cannot fail; so every thing being made considerably cheaper, the government will be able to effect all their dealings and negotiations with as much less money as the prices of labour, and goods of all kinds shall hence be reduced: and, therefore, will have an additional revenue, not only by the augmentations, but by being enabled to purchase every thing, that they may require, with much less sums than now: and this difference being considerable may gradually constitute a new *Debt-Paying-Fund*, to reduce the public incumbrances, since the old *Sinking fund* is likely to be always otherwise appropriated.

IF it should be objected, that, to effect this intention, the land tax will lessen with the rents of lands; whence the revenue in this branch will diminish—To this, it may be replied, that if we add the land tax, which may be further raised on so great an addition of land, as must every year be put into cultivation, to hold the needful proportion to the natural encrease of mankind; this additional land tax, will contribute so much to prevent any diminution in this part of the revenue. And, if the people encrease, as trade becomes

relieved and extended, which is a truth known that they always will, even to a maxim; there can be no doubt that the revenue will soon be augmented in this branch of it.

THIS design seeming to have a natural and practicable tendency to enable the nation to pay its debts, it will enable the government, to ease the people greatly of taxes. And if every thing will always find its true value, which is an axiom in trade, land, which is the most certainly valuable of all things, must do so too: wherefore, if these taxes appropriated for the payment of interest of the public debts, were all taken off our native commodities, the land would necessarily bear as much higher price, as the present taxes now subtract from the price of our commodities—For, if taxes were taken off the native commodities, they would come cheaper: this would encrease the consumption. Now, since every thing absolutely necessary is the produce of the land, the encrease of the demand for that produce, will encrease the demand for land; and that will necessarily raise the rents, even till all the money now paid for taxes, together with the charges of their collection, will come to the landholder's share. Nor can this be otherwise, unless the money circulating be insufficient to augment the rents so much: and though it may not be so much; yet if the taxes were taken off native commodities, the money would be found sufficient to augment the rents, equal
to

to the taxes that it would be needful to lay on the land : or, at least, it would prevent any considerable fall of the present rents of lands in general ; even though so much land were to be added in cultivation, as would be needful to answer the end proposed.

THE taking off the taxes on goods alone will not sufficiently in the end lower their price to the consumer, without the effectual execution of the land-cultivation co-operating therewith ; because the price of commodities in general depends on the quantity of money circulating, and its representative paper-credit. What advantage then, it may be asked, will the taking off taxes on native goods be to trade ? To which it may naturally enough be answered ; That the hands now employed in raising the taxes on commodities, would be gained to contribute their quota of skill and labour to encrease the public stock ; who now, by living on the public, eat up so much of its stock as their whole support amounts to, and are thereby a double loss to the nation of so much. Besides, the benefits that will arise to trade, by taking the taxes off our native goods, must be measured by the general burthen that attends taxes on those commodities : and are they not sensibly felt by all to be a great clog and incumbrance to our commerce ? Will not the advantages thereto arising by taking them off commodities, be as sensibly experienced by all, since they are opposites which equal each other.

THAT

THAT as little inconveniency may arise as the nature of things will admit, in carrying a matter of this kind into execution, the taxes should be as gradually taken off our native commodities, as the proposal can be gradually executed; that the officers in the revenue, who may be gradually discharged, may get their livelihood in such a way as will encrease the public stock of plenty; and that we may, at length, have none to succeed to live on the labour of the industrious, as multitudes always must *, so long as any taxes are raised on our native commodities especially.

BUT if, after all, it should be found true, that we cannot throw hands enough into

* Amongst the mass of people, there is not above one half labouring or manufacturing. For suppose we have 8 millions of people, and that the limits of the age of labour be placed between 13 and 63, and that $\frac{2}{3}$ of the people are between these ages; from these we must deduct at least $\frac{1}{6}$; under the following classes; females, sequestered from labour by the condition of their sex; the idle, by rank or choice; men of professions, such as vend the manufactures of others, the sick and impotent. By this computation, there only remains one half labouring and manufacturing: but we can hardly believe there are above 3 million of working people. The price of labours rises in proportion to the scarcity of labourers; they being somewhat like their commodities, dear in proportion to their scarcity. Any number of labouring people setting idle increaseth the price of labour, double to the proportion which that number bears to the whole. Suppose, for example, 3 millions of labouring people, and 30,000 men carrying arms, or levying taxes; 30,000 is one per cent. on 3 millions, and these living on the labour of the rest, makes another one per cent, in all two per cent, or double the proportion.

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tillage, &c. to carry this propofal into execution to the full end aimed at; muſt not this be a cogent reaſon for carrying the ſame as far as it may be? Since it is ſo much more for the happineſs of mankind, rather to want hands to do all work that may be required in a ſtate than to have a great number of hands to ſpare, as are now degenerated into vagabonds; relieved by the public, or perishing for want of work enough to render labour ſo valuable, as to be a ſufficient motive to render them induſtrious.

HOWEVER idle our working people may be; that is for want of being rightly governed; and this is nothing criminal on their part; for the working people would work far more than they do, if they were ſufficiently encouraged. For I take it for a maxim, that no claſs of people will ever want induſtry, if they do not want encouraging motives thereto. The truth of which is no leſs undeniable, than that the conſumer, if he had money to pay, and was willing to purchaſe, never yet went without any ſtaple commodity whatever; or indeed, without any other common thing he wanted.

THAT our working people are well diſpoſed to labour, when duely encouraged, is plain from hence: that in a time of general mourning for a prince, when abundance of goods are required to be made in a ſhort time, we know the weavers, dyers, taylors, &c. do, at ſuch times, work almoſt night and day,
only

only for the encouragement of better temporary wages; which an extraordinary demand for any goods is necessarily connected with: if this is done to cloathe so great a part of the people in the kingdom in so short a time, as we usually see on such occasions; is it not apparent, that the working people not only can, but would do a great deal more work than they do, if they were encouraged in a proper and effectual manner, by prevailing motives to industry and sobriety? And such may be easily suggested upon the principles whereon we have reasoned.

THE execution of this proposal should seem to be the natural way to extend dominion, and introduce liberty amongst mankind. For, wherever so much land is continually put to use, which shall call for all the hands, which trade and manufactures will suffer to employ themselves this way: and as this will necessarily give full employment to all the people, and create such plenty of every thing, that the meanest of the people will certainly find a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families; so it will infallibly draw the industrious labouring people to forsake every arbitrary and oppressive government, to find such a settlement, as the business which so much land continually added and improved will certainly provide for them.

THE government finding difficulties enough to raise men at a great expence in
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time of war, for the military and naval services, might it not be a prevailing and effectual inducement to numbers to enter into the service cheerfully ; if, when they had been engaged, and behaved well therein so many years, they should be entitled, by act of parliament, to such a quantity of land, to cultivate, and such an allowance to enable them to cultivate the same ? Would not the idea of their being landholders towards the end of their days, make many of them frugal, and industrious, in order to save something the better to enable them to maintain themselves comfortably, afterwards, with the governments assistance, to marry, and bring up their families to honest labour and husbandry also ? Do not such-like measure seem the natural and easy ways of rendering these kingdoms more and more powerful ; since it is probable that in no less than a century there would be double the number of people found in them ? Nor could this well fail being the consequence, unless the neighbouring countries should follow the same measures : and then the encrease of each nation would be only such as the natural encrease of mankind will produce. But a great advantage would arise to mankind in general by this means ; for happiness and liberty would become as general and as extensive, as the methods proposed should be universally practiced.

If

IF it should be objected against these measures, that although we have had a late great dearth and scarcity, and consequently temporary dearness in general of the necessities of life amongst the poor; yet this may not happen again in several years: that as things have been in the general circumstanced, we have for many years enjoyed so great a plenty of the produce of the earth, and the price has been reduced so low, and may be again, that the farmers will not be able to pay their rents; which seems to be owing to our having already broke up and improved too much land; since such plenty can arise only from having too much land in cultivation already:--If, we say, any thing in this strain should be urged, it may be observed; that the produce of the land may in some years be so plenty, and therefore so low in price as not to answer and turn to account; and that not only from the plenty of those things considered in themselves, but from the inability of the people in general to purchase them, in such quantities as their wants may require, notwithstanding their temporary cheapness; since a considerable abatement in the consumption of any thing, will operate to the reduction of its price, more than even plenty of any thing, considered with due regard to the wants of the people, will do: But if by a constant general plenty the people in general grow prosperous, they may become able to purchase double the quan-

quantity, which will ever keep up the price suitably to the circulating money: and the price of rents, to be raised higher will be hurtful.

MOREOVER, this objection is contrary to the nature of the thing itself; it suggesting that plenty is so enormous an evil, as in the general to ruin the farmers and gentlemen. But since a general plenty is in its own nature a general blessing; the constant promotion and encrease of the consumption thereof, should co-operate therewith, and not render that any evil which is manifestly intended otherwise: and therefore the fault must lye in our policy, not in the nature and reason of things.

IF it be true, as the objections takes for granted; that we have already so much land in use, as makes the plenty in general so great, as to reduce the price of its produce too low for the landlord to get rent for his land; yet, since it has been made appear, that more land is required in cultivation to give full employment, and a reasonable supply to all the necessary wants of the people; it will follow, whether gentlemen can, or cannot get any rents for their lands for a time, that the people in general have a just right to have so much more land cultivated, as shall be amply sufficient to give them full employment, and subsist them comfortably, not scantily and starvingly; because every person is, by nature, as much entitled to all the land he can culti-

cultivate, for his sustenance and use, as he is to the air, in which he breathes ; for he can no more live without the one than the other. Wherefore, since mankind are all by nature born equal in this respect, it is contrary to the great law of nature to abridge any part of the human species of this their natural right ; unless it can be proved, that it is for the good of individuals to be thus abridged ; and that they ought either to purchase, or pay rent for the lands, whose produce their industry shall entitle them to : and this I believe no man will easily prove.

BUT we may with truth deny, that there ever was such a superabundant plenty as the objection implies, (especially if right measures are used in times of plenty to preserve against those of scarcity) ; but waving the latter for the present ; we will only observe, that the produce of the land, when brought to market by the farmers, is always sold for ready money. Now, it is scarce possible, that any thing can be properly said to be too plentiful, for which the demand is, or may be always so great, as to make it a ready money commodity. For, if the plenty were really too great for the demand, it would, as we know many sorts of goods and manufactures are, be sold for time : and a greater plenty, than the demand requires, is the foundation of selling on credit : it follows, therefore that the produce is not too plentiful, when it can be sold in the general for ready money.

money. Victuals and drink, the only thing here concerned in the objection, are so far from being too plentiful, that they also are generally sold for ready money, even to the meanest consumer. The number of those who do not pay present money for their immediate necessities of life, are few in comparison to others; and even these, in general pay for such necessities in short time, unless these who never pay.

If, therefore, it is not the general plenty of the produce, which is the occasional cause of cheapness, that disables the farmer from paying his rent, as it appears it is not; yet supposing the matter to be otherwise, it follows that gentlemen, if they would have their rents constantly paid, are under a necessity, as fast as possible, to cause so much waste land to be inclosed and improved, as shall actually reduce the present rate of labour, and encrease the consumption of the people in general to such degree, that the price which the produce of the earth will fetch at market, may always be sufficient to bear all charges, and leave an overplus to pay such rents as the land will then be found to bear. For while the necessary charges of the labour, &c. and the subsistence of the farmers continue so great, as to equal the price, the produce of the ground fetches at market; it is scarce possible that the gentlemen should have their rents duely paid; and a less rent certainly paid is preferable to one that is

uncertain, and therefore often never paid at all.

THAT the necessary charges of the labour, and the subsistence of the farmers may be so much lowered, as to leave an overplus out of the price which the produce fetches at market, sufficient to pay some rent, is certain; because, when the produce did hardly fetch $\frac{1}{30}$ part of its present rate, some rent was as certainly paid, as that we had always gentlemen, who lived on their estates. And if the lowering the rate of labour, &c. will make every thing fall, in much greater proportion than the rents, it will be evident, that an overplus must, in this case, remain to pay rent; and the gentlemen will be the richer too, for encouraging such measures, as shall be effectual to reduce the present rate of labour, &c.—And without the improvement of so much land, they are likely in a few years to get no rent at all; nor will they be in a better condition than the moneyed interest, when our public debts shall be doubled, or tribled, and our taxes so heavy as to drive our merchants into other nations—The taking off the taxes on commodities will facilitate this matter; it being certain, that those, together with their charge of collection, and also the advance on the price of goods they occasion, do at present absorb a great proportion of the rents of the whole kingdom. Nay, the gradual taking off taxes entirely from the necessities of life, which
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the working people consume, is so absolutely needful, to co-operate with the encrease of land-cultivation, that the latter will not have the effect desired by many years so soon, as if it is gradually aided and assisted by the other measure, as the debts shall become discharged, by an effectual fund established for that purpose.

THAT which may convince every man of the truth of the prodigious augmentation of the price of goods by taxes laid thereon, is the mention only of one single instance, as a fact; which is, that when the duty on salt was taken off, it was cried about the streets at the rate of three pounds for five farthings; and, no sooner was the duty laid on again; but the price became to the consumer, (as it was before the duty was taken off) five farthings for one pound. This single instance shews the necessity of taking off gradually taxes on the necessaries of life, and that this must come in aid of the great cultivation of land, to produce the public blessings of universal plenty and prosperity hereby intended in this nation; and the execution of both in conjunction, cannot fail to answer the end.

THERE remains a difficulty or two, which, perhaps, it may be necessary to remove: it may be said, that since many estates are mortgaged, if the rents, should be considerably lowered, many of them will hardly be worth more than they are mortgaged for;

which may prove a great hardship to such. This difficulty may be obviated, we apprehend, if the wisdom of parliament should ever take this matter into their consideration, and make an act for the enclosing of such large quantities of land, &c. ; for a clause might be added thereto, that all mortgagees shall be obliged annually, or in any other manner that may seem meet, to remit or strike off such sums from the principal money lent on such estates, as may hold proportion to the fall of the rents of lands. Nor will this be any hardship to the mortgagees, since the residue of their money and interest will do, at least, all the same things which their whole sums, with the interest would have done, if no such alteration had been made, as the proposed measures are conceived to effect.

THIS also will not only prove the case of mortgagees, but of tradesmen, whose stock in hand being of our own produce, or native manufactures of any kind, will be continually falling, as fast as such produce or manufactures shall, from time to time, by their plenty, become cheaper. Nor will this be any prejudice to tradesmen, since every time they purchase in this case, such goods will be as much cheaper than when they bought last, as those commodities have fallen on their hands; and the remaining sum every way as powerful in purchasing what they may have occasion for, as the whole sums would

would have been, if no such alteration had happened in the fall of prices.

WITH relation to foreign commodities, their price depending on the markets from whence they are brought, will not for some time be affected by this measure: and as to book-debts and notes, the credit of this kind being never intended to be of any long duration, there will be no necessity of any change with respect to these things. A hardship, indeed, will fall on many, who have leases on lands; unless a clause be likewise made in the act, to give tenants the option to surrender; or make other conditions.

SINCE all trade and commerce is founded on the wants of mankind, and that these are supplied only by cultivation and tillage, and other things depending thereon; it appears to what essential causes we may attribute the decay of trade and scarcity of the necessaries of life; for such decay, and scarcity will inevitably arise from the course of things, where such an addition of land is not duly cultivated, as shall at least hold proportion to the natural encrease of mankind; and such decay is likewise the necessary consequence of taxes on native commodities, and the decrease of the national cash; since the consumption of every thing must lessen to such degree, as the circulating-money does, if the price of things in general be not reduced in the like proportions by the means we have submitted. For, if every

thing bears the same price, and the number of consumers is not lessened, it is plain, they having so much less money amongst them, they will be obliged to purchase as much fewer things, as the want of so much money will necessarily prevent them from purchasing. This will encrease the number of the poor, and make them miserable, as the want of the proportion of the cash-decrease cuts off more or less business from amongst the people : The consequence will be the same, if the people encrease, and money does not in the like degree.

THE great encrease of our paper-effects has not less contributed to the decay of trade than any thing that has been mentioned, their circulation enhancing the price of every thing amongst us above the rates our real specie would have supported them at ; and that in such proportion as these paper-effects are greater than the hard money we have in circulation ; this being the natural effect of any thing operating as money itself.

As an effectual beginning to a matter of this concernment, I have, in my other labours endeavoured to shew the necessity of reducing, instead of enlarging the public debts, and taxes : to which may be here further submitted to consideration : whether his Majesty might not, by giving a proportion annually of his crown lands, in proper parcels or in quit rents, or under any proper acknowledgements for a term of years, begin this good
work

work of land-cultivation in England; to such persons who have behaved gallantly in the defence of their country in time of war, or have any other way promoted the public interest, as a royal reward and encouragement for such services? And whether such to whom those land-donations were made should not possess and enjoy them on such conditions only as shall tend to the cultivation of every acre within such a time, or the same shall be forfeited, and given to those, who will undertake to do it, within a reasonable time limited for that purpose?



DISSERTATION II.

The Productions and trade of England compared with those of Scotland and Ireland, and the British plantations ; and also with each other ; in order further to inforce the reasonableness and necessity of England taking the measures recommended in the First Dissertation.

HOWEVER great some may conceive the advantages to be that England has over its other territories, wherewith it is united and connected ; yet when duly considered, they will be found to be less considerable than what may be too generally apprehended. For Scotland as well as Ireland, and the British Northern colonies do all, more or less interfere with England in her native produce, and in some of her staple manufactures ; and these distinct parts of the British empire do also greatly interfere in their produce and fabrics with each other ; which can be no such advantage to either, nor to the whole kingdom, as if the commercial circumstances of the several parts of the kingdom did in no respect clash and interfere with

with

with each other : it would certainly prove more for the general interest of the State, that the constituent territories of the British nation, should interfere in their trade only with foreign rivals, and not with that of England, or with that of each other.

It is true, the soil of Scotland, in the general, has hitherto fallen short of that of England in fruitfulness, it being more fit for pasture than corn. They have, however, in some of the inland counties, no inconsiderable store of grain, wherewith they trade to Spain, Holland, or Norway : and this they selling cheaper than the English can afford, interferes with her grain-trade in general.

SCOTLAND also produces a great number of black cattle, as well as sheep more than can be consumed within themselves ; and therefore they send considerable herds into England ; to the amount of about 80,000 head of black cattle, and 150,000 sheep annually. The Scots likewise send their wool into England, a great part of which is used in making of the coarse cloths of Yorkshire and Lancashire. They do, indeed, receive a large quantity thereof again, when manufactured into cloth, as well for their own consumption as for exportation, especially to the British plantations in America : and this they can do at a cheaper rate than England can afford.

ON the North-East parts of Scotland, the wool is finer, and of a longer staple than
that

that in the Southern; and the manufactures of worsted stockings made there are very fine, and employ great number of hands. Their other chief woollen manufactures are of serges, stuffs and shalloons. They have a manufacture of muslin, which employs abundance of poor in the spinning, bleaching and dressing it; and great quantities thereof are brought to England cheaper than the English can make it. The manufacture of plaiding also is no inconsiderable article, and is becomes pretty general in England, from its cheap and durable ware. The mines of lead in this kingdom are very valuable to the inhabitants, as likewise is the abundance of fine coal produced here; both which articles do not a little interfere with the like in England, because they, upon the whole, come much cheaper to both foreign and domestic purchasers than those of England. They have salt pans for the making of salt, which they do in large quantities; and this does no service to the same trade in England.

THE great support of the Scots are their linnen manufactures, and their fisheries; the former of which, since the union, has been greatly encouraged; and great quantities are consumed in England. as well as in the British plantations in America: this has damped that branch of manufacture in England, as well as interfered with that of Ireland; they both manufacturing much cheaper than can be done in England.

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THEIR fishery in Scotland in herring, salmon, cod, and white fish have greatly encreased of late, and are likely to do so much more considerably. And the salt of Scotland may again be properly enough mentioned as a produce no less than a manufacture, as it is in England: we speak of it again, as it is esteemed stronger and better than that of Newcastle, so it cures their fish better, and is more desired abroad; and great quantities thereof are exported every year to Germany, Norway, and to the Baltic.

IN fine, Scotland is encreased many ways in their trade, within a few years past, as well in their domestic manufactures, as in their foreign exports. And although some portion of the gains of this kingdom centers in England, from the occasional resort thither of people of distinction; yet the greater cheapness of the Scot's produce and fabrics, which have, do, and may further interfere with the like in England, or in Ireland, shows, that if England would preserve any share of these trades, they must be able to sell as cheap as the Irish and Scots can afford, or England will lose that proportion thereof, which they enjoy; because what her foreign rivals cannot supplant them in, Scotland and Ireland will.

THE balance of pure trade between Scotland and England is much to the advantage of the former; the value of the goods they receive from the latter bearing no proportion
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to that they send from the former ; the one consisting chiefly in woollen manufactures, of the fine sorts only, and some silk ; in the room of which England takes off their wool, their cattle, their linnen, their muslin, their corn, and great quantities of almost every species of their produce, except their fish and their salt. By this encrease of commerce, the Scots are much encreased in shipping ; and they not only purchase but build ships of their own continually, especially for the West India trade, and the Southern commerce ; an article, which is necessarily followed by an encrease of seamen, and all business thereon depending. By this means, Scotland must encrease daily in wealth, and in a great measure, as we have seen, at the expence of England, unless that general plenty and cheapness is introduced into England, by means of the measures urged in the first Dissertation ; and then England will be upon an equality in this essential point with Scotland ; and the wealth of the Scots will encrease only by the share of foreign commerce it shall maintain in conjunction with England : and will it not be better for Scotland as well as England, for the former to grow rich and powerful at the expence of other nations, not at the expence of their brethren subjects ? For that ought to be considered as no benefit to the united kingdom in general ; the one's gain being the other's loss,

loss, and of no advantage to the whole state.

THE next point that falls under view, consistent with the track of animadversion into which we have fallen, is a consideration, with regard to the trade and commerce of Ireland, as that kingdom also stands connected with England, under the same sovereign power and authority. And the whole face of this country, as well as that of Scotland, is certainly greatly changed for the better within some few years. It may be said of this country in general, that it has as good pasture as any in England, and abundance of good corn. Their cattle are very good and very plentiful. Their chief commodities for export are cattle, hides, tallow, butter, cheese, honey, wax, hemp, timber, pipe-staves, coarse rugs, shag-mantles, freezes, ratteens, camblets, with wool and woollen cloth, and also variety of fish, as salmon, herring, &c. and lead, tin and iron.

THE Irish have not only wool, fuller's earth, and numerous other of the productions of the same kind with England, and to as great perfection, but they, like Scotland, have abundantly the advantage of England in their manufacturing, by reason of their greater cheapness both of the material, and the labour of the people; which is owing to the greater cheapness of the common necessities of life, and the greater cheapness of their rents.

IRELAND

IRELAND not being united with England as Scotland is, but governed by a parliament of their own, the English have judged it good policy to restrain, by act of parliament, the inhabitants of Ireland from exporting any woollen manufactures to any part of the world, except to England; lest, by their superior cheapness they should supplant the English at foreign markets, as much as the French, and other states have already done: so that although England cannot supply other nations so cheap as Ireland can, with woollen manufactures; and although Ireland should, by their greater general cheapness, be capable of supplying all parts of the world as cheap or cheaper, perhaps, than France; yet the English seem to think it better policy to suffer France to supplant them in the woollen trade, and that by the means of manufacturing Irish wool, than to suffer the Irish to rival the English in the woollen manufacture, although they are subjects of the same prince.

To make the Irish some return and compensation for the restriction under which they labour, in regard to their woollen fabric-exportation, the English have admitted them, not only to bring their wool to England, but also to manufacture the same in part; that is, to spin it; and quantities of their yarn are imported into Great Britain annually, and there wrought up and manufactured.

THOUGH

THOUGH this policy may take off some quantity of the Irish wool ; yet the British consumption of the Irish wool not taking off the whole superfluous quantity remaining in that kingdom, the Irish are still under the temptation from necessity, of clandestinely exporting their unwrought wool to France in quantities : whence it should seem to arise as a matter of doubt ; whether this practice, has not proved more prejudicial to England, than if the Irish wool had been permitted to have been manufactured in Ireland ? It may be said, indeed, that if the Irish were permitted to manufacture the whole of their present quantity of wool, they would establish themselves, in opposition to the interest of England in particular, as well as that of France, by dint of their greater cheapness in the sale of woollen goods at all foreign markets : and when they had once got a footing therein, they could easily supply wool enough, and manufacture the same cheap enough to ruin the whole woollen trade of England ; and be capable of furnishing England herself with their manufactures cheaper than she can do.

THIS brings us home to the important point considered in the foregoing Dissertation ; which is plainly this : (1) Whether, if England will retain and retrieve her woollen manufactures, by preventing Irish and English wool from going to France, and by preventing her being supplanted in the woollen trade in
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Europe and elsewhere ; the most natural, and the most effectual way, is not to resolve to render all her productions and her labour as cheap as the French or the Irish have them? And (2) whether any measures can more naturally and effectually answer this great national end, than those of augmenting the cultivation of fresh quantities of land ; together with the taking off gradually all taxes upon the necessaries of life, as have been submitted to consideration? For if, by these measures, England shall become capable of selling her woollen fabrics, as cheap as France, she will not only be able to work up her own wool, but the whole of the Irish. In such case, France could not purchase it, nor Ireland be under any temptation to let any other nation have it but England.

THIS would not only prove the means of England's regaining the whole woollen trade that she has lost by French policy, but she might, by continuance of the same measures, retain and preserve the same, when she had once full possession thereof ; for as this would encrease the general balance of trade in her favour, it would supply a sufficiency of cash to extend her trade as she pleased, by dint of the cheapness of the necessaries of life, and the cheapness of labour : and whenever it was found that either grew so dear as to give foreign rivals the opportunity to supplant her ; she would know, from experience, how she might prevent the evil. For when the wealth
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of the nation encreased too much, and the price of commodities encreased as the money did, she must have recourse to the cultivation of more land, as the people and the trade encreased : and would not England, and Wales, Scotland and Ireland afford as much land as the British empire should ever stand in need off in Europe? But if we should want more, would not our dominion in trade and in navigation afford us territorial dominions sufficient in other parts of the world, whither we could transplant our people ; if we should ever stand in need of occupying more lands than we already have for their sustenance as they shall multiply, according to the course of nature and a continued prosperity?

By thus rendring all things, and all labour cheap and plentiful in England, she would be, in those respects, upon a par and equality with Scotland and Ireland ; and those parts of the British empire will be roused and animated to trade with other nations, and grow wealthy and powerful by commerce with them, instead of preying at all upon England, or interfering with her in their productions or in their arts and manufactures.

THE three kingdoms being reduced to a level, in relation to the general price of the necessaries of life, and of all labour and ingenious arts ; it may, perhaps, be then the happy point of time for the wise statesmen of both countries to think of the union of Ireland with Great Britain, and take off all

restrictions upon the trade of the former; but if England does this before she is capable of selling her commodities as cheap as the Irish can do theirs, it will be in the power of Ireland, in conjunction with Scotland, to ruin the commerce and navigation of England, more than it is in that of France.

NOR can any other measures, perchance, so naturally pave the way to such a desirable union, without England's becoming an inferior and dependent province to Ireland, and to Scotland likewise; for as England, by this means, will be able to sell her commodities as cheap as either Ireland or Scotland, she will thereby maintain her superiority of commerce and navigation over the other two in her staple manufactures, she having already obtained so much the start of them therein: but while the price of those merchandises continues so considerably lower in Scotland and Ireland than they are in England, the trade of the latter must inevitably decline, and **that** of the former inevitably advance: and if they do not advance so rapidly in the woollen manufactory, and others whereon England has laid restrictions, in regard to that of Ireland; they will advance in all other branches that shall be left open to them, while England will dwindle therein; and in consequence of their daily declension in their greatest staple, their other branches cannot fail to dwindle away likewise; for such are the connections, and dependency of one

one branch of commerce upon another ; and so greatly does one capital staple tend to promote the sale of other inferior ones, that if a nation loses a principal branch, it cannot be long before she shares the same fate, in regard to many others ; for the same cause will be productive of the same effect, as well in one as in another branch of trade.

IF Ireland or Scotland shall not be suffered to embrace the trade that England cannot be able to keep and preserve, foreign nations will run away with it. That England must lose her woollen and other chief branches of her trade, if she continues in her old tract of policy is certain ; for the encrease of public debts and public taxes can never tend to render her commodities cheaper : as such measures, on the contrary, must render them dearer and dearer, England must remain in the infallible road to ruin, unless she falls upon effectual means to prevent the same, by lowering the price of her commodities to the standard of that of France, and other rival nations : and if any measures can more naturally tend to that end, than those that have been suggested, I will most chearfully give up my own sentiments, adopt the better, and endeavour to support and defend them ; for the great end I would aim at is to reduce the prices of English commodities as low as those of any rival nation.

So peculiarly circumstanced are the commercial affairs of England at present, that it

is not only Scotland and Ireland that are gaining daily a part of her trade, by reason of their greater cheapness of commodities, wherein the trade of England principally consists; but her own plantations in America likewise have been making inroads upon her trade; and especially in the article of grain from the Northern colonies; which have interfered with various branches of our corn trade to the streights, as well as to Spain and Portugal. Do not all these trades of Great Britain in general, therefore, conspire to the destruction of that of England in particular? And if the Northern colonies are permitted to go on advancing in those branches, which shall interfere with many of those of Great Britain, Scotland and Ireland too; these colonies will, in length of time, become detrimental instead of beneficial to their mother-country. And so illy regulated have been the productions of those colonies, that many of them do not less interfere in their commodities with each other, than they do with those of their parent state; which, I humbly conceive, has proved an egregious mistake in our plantation politics, and an effectual remedy ought to be seriously thought of.

BUT how comes it to pass that our plantation trade has interfered with the grain trade of England in particular? Is it not by reason that they can afford to sell cheaper than she can do? Is not this the fundamental source of all our evils, proceeding as well from those limbs of our own nation, as from the ability
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of foreign competitors to undersell and undernavigate us in every branch of traffic?

DOES not here open to England a very melancholy and destructive scene to her trading interest? Do we not see, that England and Scotland, and England and Ireland, and Ireland and Scotland are in some measure competing with each other in their general commerce? And have we not experienced that our Northern plantations are likely in many essentials to rival them all, and even one another to the great detriment of each, and the no less injury of the whole?

CERTAIN it is far better for the nation in general, that Scotland and Ireland, and her British plantations should possess such share of trade that England loses, than that foreign nations should engross it; because a great proportion of their gains centers in England, she holding the seat of legislation, which draws spending money from all parts of her dependent territories. This may enable England, for some time, to hold up her head, and appear of a gay and florid complexion; while she is going into a galloping consumption; for if her solid trade and navigation decline, the seat of her treasure will be transferred elsewhere; she may have the external, and transitory appearance of riches and splendor, while her inferior and dependant states shall enjoy the substantial and permanent.

INSTEAD of suffering the commerce of England to be transferred to any of her de-

pendent dominions at her expence, would it not prove the more eligible policy for Great Britain and Ireland to strive to grow wealthy and powerful at the expence of foreign rivals ; at the expence of those, who are struggling not only to deprive them all of their trade and navigation, but what is still more invaluable ; of their constitutional liberties ? This is the great point that I would labour. I would not be misunderstood, by any means, to contend for the encrease of the trade of England at the expence of those of Scotland or of Ireland, or of the British plantations : no, but we would desire that Great Britain and Ireland would so wisely regulate their respective trades as to interfere as little as possible with each other, and as much as may be with those foreign nations that are ardently striving to ruin the commerce and navigation of them all.

If this shall be thought sound policy, the next point that will naturally fall under consideration will be, what measures may be necessary for Great Britain and Ireland to take to prevent their interfering so greatly as they do with each other in their produce and fabrics : and how, and by what means they may all act in concert to interfere as much as may be with the commerce of those who are labouring to ruin them all ? The answer to these questions, we apprehend, is plain and obvious : let England, Scotland and Ireland, endeavour gradually as much as possible, by
wise

wise laws and regulations, that the produce of their lands and their manufactures interfere as little as possible with each other, unless for their own domestic sustenance and support: and let their agriculture, and their arts be levelled as much as possible against those of rival trading nations, according to the demand, and to afford those materials that we are obliged to take from other nations: and let also the British plantations follow the same maxims: let them gradually strive to interfere as little as possible in their productions and manufactures with those of their mother country, or with those of each other; and let their agriculture and their arts be levelled as much as possible against those of rival trading nations, and not against these of their brethren colonies in particular—These are the general principles, which I would labour to establish: but policy of this kind has its limits and restrictions from a well known and allowed maxim in trading states *viz.* that no trading nation can maintain an intercourse of commerce with others, if they expect to sell all, and to purchase no commodities in return: our general principles, wisely restrained and regulated by this latter general maxim, we are willing to believe, will be found to be good policy in a trading state, so circumstanced in its territories as England is, and as its present connections with other nations are.

WHAT the lands of Great Britain and Ireland, and the British plantations in America, may produce, is not easy to say : but I am inclined to believe, that there are few productions in nature, but may be discovered or produced, in the territories belonging to the crown of England; or, in such as she might possess herself of at small expence : and what productions there might be raised in her European dominions alone, by the arts of cultivation, no one can peremptorily affirm ; being of opinion that the arts of husbandry and agriculture are very far from being brought to their ultimate perfection.

Do we not well know, that the bulk of the productions of England have sprung from exotic transplantations ? We are very superficial yet in the manuring of lands ; and far more ignorant in the principles of nature, which are the efficient causes of vegetation. And, if we are so greatly unacquainted with nature's principles, it is no wonder that we should be unknowing in their application, the better to aid her prolific operations. I have known farmers to send all the year round above ten west country miles for manure, when they have had under their very nose that which was far preferable, but were quite blind and ignorant of the valuable treasure that daily presented itself to their view.

HOWEVER, it may be useful to many gentlemen, who may take pleasure as well as find benefit and advantage in giving admonitions

nitions to some of their tenants, to throw before them an abstract of the general and essential principles of the known husbandry, as it is practised in several counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, according to their various soils and circumstances. This I am the rather induced to, as it may tend to the improvement of waste lands, in order to afford that general plenty and prosperity we have endeavoured to introduce.

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DISSERTATION III.

A summary of various general principles of agriculture, founded on experience, for the improvement of lands, in order to answer that general plenty and prosperity in England aimed at by the preceding papers.

I. **W**ET lands; of which three sorts are cultivated. Such as lye on a slope are drained by cutting trenches. If the water proceeds from a spring they turn it's course, by making a bank of the earth that is dug out of the trenches.

LANDS bordering upon rivers, never produce so much as after the winter floods, because they generally leave a fat slime behind them. Those lands are, therefore, always ready to produce, as it were, without the help of art. But that advantage is sometimes overbalanced by the mischief occasioned by the summer floods. To guard against them, as much as possible, such lands are surrounded with hedges and deep ditches.

THE best of all lands are the marshes near the sea. These are very proper to fatten cattle in a short time. Experience shews that

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that sheep never got the rot there. When a flock begins to be infected with that distemper, it is immediately driven down to the marshes, and if it be not too late, recovers. So at least it has been judged, by the opening of several of those creatures who had been visibly ill of that distemper, and in whom that part of the liver that had begun to rot, was found dry : an indisputable proof of the necessity of mixing a great deal of salt with the food of cattle. Those marshy lands require a great expence in banks and deep ditches to prevent the water's lodging upon them ; and especially the sea water. They are likewise apt to want fresh water, which in this case must be carried thither. Care is likewise taken to plant them with trees and high hedges, to shelter the flocks from the summer's heat and winter's cold.

II. Chalky, or marley land, of which there are five sorts, is frequently of a fat and cold nature.

THE first sort, which is brown with bluish veins and mixed with little heaps of lime stones, is called *Cowshult-marle*.

THE second is called *Slate-marle* ; it is of a bluish cast and dissolved in water.

THE third kind is called *Delving-marle*, a word used in mining, and is close, strong, and very fat.

THE fourth is the *Clay-marle* : it is much of the nature of pipe maker's clay, but fatter, and is sometimes mixed with chalk stones.

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THE fifth and last, is known by the name of *Steel-marle*. It divides spontaneously into square pieces, and is commonly found in digging of wells. The good, or bad quality of that marle is not so easily known by its colour as its pureness ; that is to say the least mixed, is the best. It ought to break into little square pieces, and be quite smooth and soft without any mixture of sand or gravel. If it scales off like a slate, and after being wet, dries again in the sun and crumbles into dust, it is a sure sign of its being good. No judgment can be formed of its goodness by its feeling slippery, oily, or glutinous ; for the mines afford enough which is pure, dry, easily broke in pieces, and is clammy when wet.

WHAT is called chalkey or marley land, is very common with us, where they distinguish between that which is hard, dry, stiff, and therefore fittest to burn ; and that which is soft and fat, easily dissolved by water, or a thaw after frost. This last is fit for tillage, and for manuring almost all other lands, but more especially those which are of a cold sharp nature. To that end a load of it is mixed with two or three loads of dung, mud, or mould, and that mixture is afterwards spread over the fields or meadows.

THOSE lands are naturally full of poppies, and all other sorts of weeds that grow in hot and dry soils. They are fit for sain-foin, or clover, and, when a little fattened, do very well

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well for lucerne. They are generally sowed with wheat, barley, and oats.

THE proper manure for such lands is sheep's dung, common dung, old rags, pairings of cloth cut into little bits and thrown over the land just after sowing.

IF it happens to rain immediately after sowing, before the corn has sprouted, that kind of land is apt to bind so hard that the shoot cannot pierce through it. The farmers, in Hertfordshire, remedy that inconvenience by dunging that kind of land with dung half rotten, with which some mix a certain quantity of sand. They are generally sowed with wheat, meslin corn or barley. Only after the wheat is off the ground, a crop of pease or tares succeeds.

A THIRD quality is *clay-lands*, of which we distinguish five sorts. The first, called pure clay, feels as soft and smooth as butter, without mixture of sand or gravel; and the purer it is the more perfect it is reckoned: it divides of itself into several qualities, some fit for fuller's earth, and others for manure. The Northampton fuller's earth is yellowish, that of Hallifax brown, and in the lead mines in Derbyshire it is whitish. That sort is thought the best.

PURE clay is likewise found in marle pits, and is of a pale yellow.

ANOTHER kind called *soap-scales* is found in coal pits.

AND

AND lastly, there is a bluish brown kind of clay, by some called indifferently clay and marle. It is of great service in manuring poor light and sandy soils. That custom was first introduced, or rather revived in Yorkshire. It is commonly found on the sides of hills, under a layer of sand about four or five feet deep. The clay being found, a well is dug about eight or ten feet deep, and fifteen or twenty feet square. Good clay is bluish without any mixture of sand, close, fat, and very weighty; that kind is fittest to make bricks. It is dug about midsummer, when the weather is dry. A field well manured produces plenty of barley the first year, of a bad colour but large grain, which the following years is full and round like wheat. Experience shews that this manure lasts many years. When the land begins to grow poor and hungry, the same manure must be repeated. Sandy lands, for which clay is proper, will never produce any thing but rye, whatever other manure be given them, even though it be chalk: but when once properly clayed, they are fit for oats, barley, pease, &c.

THE Second kind is a rough clay that crumbles into dust when dry. It is properly chalk. This kind comprehends other qualities of clay used by potters, which are of a deeper or paler yellow, blue, or red, and more or less fat.

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THE third is a stone when dry; it is white, blue, and red.

THE fourth contains a mixture of sand or round gravel.

THE fifth kind is known by a mixture of fat, or very fine sand, and shining talc. A white clay of that kind is found in Derbyshire. The Nottingham ware is made of it. There is likewise another sort, which is grey or bluish, and is used at Hallifax to make tobacco pipes. The exportation of this last, as well as of the first kind is forbid under pain of death.

ARABLE clay lands are black, blue, yellow, or white. The black and yellow are thought best for corn; some of them are fatter, and some more glutinous than others; but they are all in general apt to hold water, by which quantities of bad weeds are produced, poisonous to cattle, and especially sheep. Those lands shrink in dry weather, are hardened by the sun and wind, and at last split and crack, whereby they are impregnated with the nitrous particles of the air. Most of them are fit for wheat, barley, peas, and beans; and especially, if they contain a mixture of chalk stones. The best are proper for lucerne, and that kind of artificial meadow called rye-Grass. They bear their manure better than any other; and that generally is horse, pidgeon's and sheep's-dung, hot marle, malt-dust, ashes, lime, chalk, and foot. Ashes

are esteemed and found by experience to be one of the best manures for land, if judiciously applied. Ashes of heath, fern, broom, rushes, reeds, and in short, of all kinds of vegetables are good ; but nothing is better, nor more lasting than coal-ashes, especially for cold lands. Care must be taken to preserve them from rain, which, by washing would carry off their salts : when that accident does happen, the remedy is to water them with urine or soap-suds. This preparation is very good in all cases ; for two loads of ashes so prepared, will have a greater effect on an acre of land than six loads of common ashes unprepared.

A FOURTH quality is gravelly and sandy lands. But little can be made of them, because most of them are barren and liable to be parched up by heat, or to suck in too much wet when it rains. They then produce nothing but moss, or are covered with a kind of crust. Those that have a little mould at top, or a gravelly bottom, sometimes produce very good grass and are used for grazing ; because, if on one hand they are soon parched, on the other the least shower of rain revives them. Lands that are a pure sand, are white, black, bluish, red, yellow, and some harder than others. Some too are of a grey colour, and they are generally covered with heath, and are used for feeding cattle. Gravelly lands are of much the same nature : the most stony, mixed with a rough sand, are the most barren.

ren. The best of those lands are sowed with rye, black corn, and turnips to feed cattle. The best manure for them is a kind of clay, which dissolves when wet, mud, cow-dung, and old thatch half rotted on the dunghill.

THE way of manuring mossy grounds in Hertfordshire, is to burn, and then plow them. They yield one or two good crops of rye, and afterwards make excellent pasture lands.

BEFORE we leave these arid soils, it may not be improper to observe, that sand is by no means useless in the cultivation of cold lands, nor strong clay to prevent their binding. River sand, or that which rain washes down from hills, is generally thought the best. Some stall their sheep in winter, but that custom is far from being common: some loads of sand are put into those stalls twice a week, and when mixed with the urine and dung of the cattle, is an excellent manure.

SEA SAND is likewise made great use of near the coasts. It is generally red, blue, grey, or white: the two first sorts are best. When spread upon the land it is ploughed in, and serves for four succeeding crops; after which the ground lies fallow, and serves for pasture, six or seven years; at the end of which it is manured and ploughed again. It is observed, that the grass that grows in those fields fattens cattle very soon, and gives them a great quantity of excellent milk. The corn that

grows upon them is short stalked, but the ears are very long and big.

A FIFTH quality is brick-lands: they differ from clay lands in this, that the water filtrates easily through them, and they are not stoney. Their natural productions are broom heath and all sorts of weeds. The best, when well dunged, are sowed with barley, oats, wheat, buck-wheat, turnips and pease. Some are sowed with clover or lucerne, but in general that does not last: they are turned into artificial meadows, to which end rye grass is best; the fittest manure for such lands is marl and coal ashes.

BUT a mixture of those Brick earths with others, is thought a very good manure, as being the medium between two extremes, binding such lands as are too friable, and cooling such as are too hot.

STONEY lands are a sixth quality: they are generally a mixture of several sorts of earth; their fruitfulness and culture depend on the nature of that mixture. If those stones are of a cold quality, the farmer endeavours to clear his land of them; except in dry and light grounds, where they are left.

WHEN the land is poor and mixed with small stones of the nature of free stone, or when the soil is stoney and mixed with a sour earth, as in Oxfordshire, it is cultivated according as it bears more or less weeds. If there be a great many weeds, the land is burnt towards July or August. Such is the method

method practised in all barren, sour, heathy and rushy lands, whether hot or cold, wet or dry: and they produce in two or three crops, all expences deducted, more than they would have sold for.

WHEN the land we are speaking of is not very much covered with weeds, it is ploughed early in the year, that it may afterwards be covered with young weeds to shelter it from the summer's heat; others penn their sheep upon it during winter, and sow a little grass; or only strew dung over it and leave the stubble standing. In the months of september, october, or november, which ever it has most weeds in, the land is prepared. That method has been found to succeed better in such lands than regular tillage does.

THE stoney lands in England being generally of a clayey nature, are best managed nearly in the same manner.

THE artificial meadows beforementioned, are one of the great sources of the riches of our agriculture. The feeding of cattle on them is no detriment to tillage; either because grazing is in itself a sufficient profit, or because it is a real addition to the fruitfulness of the lands. So that part of the corn lands of a farm, is alternately ploughed and sowed with great or small lucerne, clover, sain-foin, turnips, or rye grass; which last, we may observe, is so little known in France, that they have not even a word to express it by. Nor do the

French at all equal the English in their other meadows: for which reason they are greatly inferior to them in flocks and herds of cattle of all kinds. For that very reason, supposing all other things equal, their harvests must be less plentiful, their agriculture less profitable, and their people not so well fed. Rye-grass is one of the best and richest kinds of artificial meadow, because it grows in all sorts of cold, sharp, clayey and moist lands, as well as in the driest, poorest, stoniest, lightest and most sandy soils, where even sain-foin would not thrive. It bears heat extremely well, and is the first provender that is mowed, for it may be cut in spring. It grows mild with keeping; horses can have no better food, and it is of wondrous efficacy for sheep when disordered. Three bushels generally sow a statute acre of 160 square perches, at 16 feet and a half to the perch. The best way is to mix with it a little lucerne or non-pareil seed, commonly called Constantinople or Bristol flower. The reason of that mixture is, because the blade of rye grass is naturally very weak and thin, and if not helped with something else, will not cut through the first year. Four acres sowed in that manner, have produced 40 quarters of seed, and fourteen loads of hay, besides the fatening of seven or eight cows in spring, and as many in autumn.

EXPERIENCE is the best of teachers in all things, especially so in agriculture. It
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were greatly to be wished that those, who have the happiness of living on their own estates, would take that method of recreating themselves, and of encreasing their incomes. Great experiments are always imprudent; but to make small trials, would be attended with a very trifling expence. The only way to have a complete body of agriculture would certainly be, to collect together the several observations made in every county, on every kind of soil. But little instruction can be expected from those only who have the guidance of the plough.

THESE are the general principles of agriculture as practised in many parts of this kingdom; and if judiciously applied, may improve variety of soils both for pasture and arable occasions. Some who have been enriched by a clay, have been undone by following the same rules upon a sand. Thus it appears, that an art is only the true knowledge of nature, and that those who do not know the natural foundation of what they profess are no artists.

THE extraordinary improvements that have been made in Great Britain and Ireland, in the tillage and cultivation, should encourage our attempts in the raising, within ourselves, and in our plantations, many kinds of materials that we are under the necessity of importing from other nations, in order to carry on commerce and navigation.

As every distinct animal has its climate and food natural to it, so has every vegetable production; and thus in all plantations we make, we ought to observe what element, situation and soil relates to each, if we would be sure of success.

To judge rightly of the method of treating exotic productions brought to us from several parts of the world, we must consider, first the soil of the country they grow in, which we must imitate as near as possible. Secondly, the time of the spring in the country they are natural to, and as near as may be the degree of heat in that time of spring; for as every vegetable has its appointed times of rest and growth, it would be unnatural to force its growth, when nature ordained its repose, or to abandon it to repose, when it requires assistance, by a warmth agreeable to its own country spring. To know the time of spring natural thereto, is to observe the latitude of the country it thrives in, and to consider the degree of heat natural to the climate in the time of its spring. To judge of which is to observe in what zone it lies; whether in the torrid, the frigid, the temperate, or from the polar circles to the poles themselves.

THOSE vegetables, which grow between the equinoctial line and the tropic of cancer, as to the northward, or towards us, we suppose, have their spring as soon as our days lengthen: as the sun approximates to us more and more, all the places between that line
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and the tropic are gradually enlivened with spring. At the same time, while the sun moves this way to its boundary or tropic, which is about 23 degrees north latitude, the influence thereof has its operations on every thing gradually from the tropic to the polar circle, and from that to the pole itself: so that if we judge of the latitude, and the time and degrees of heat progressively moving through them, we may also judge what our British territories in Europe, America, and in Africa, would produce; and there would be few particulars essential to our commerce but what we might raise in our own territories.

It is but since queen Elizabeth's time that they had any settled notions of agriculture in England. Mr. Hartlib, who wrote in Cromwall's time, says in his legacy, that the old men, in his days, remembered the first gardeners, who came over to Surry, and sowed turnips, carrots, parsnips, early pease, and rape; which then were great rarities in England, being imported from Holland. They introduced, at that time, the planting of cabbages and colliflowers, and the digging of ground for gardening stuff; and it is well known, that cherries and hops were first planted in Henry VIII. his reign, and even in queen Elizabeth's time artichokes first made their appearance, and then they had cherries still brought from Flanders, apples from France, onions, saffron, and liquorice,

from Spain ; and hops from the low countries, though they all of them have long since become natives of England. These improvements for the benefit of the landed-interest, were owing to the wise administration of queen Elizabeth's reign. And why may we not hope, and expect to make as much greater improvement in tillage and agriculture, by our land-cultivation for a century and a half to come, as we have therein made for that time past? Might we not gradually begin the improvement of new productions on our best culture, and gradually breake up fresh lands for the old, with which we are well acquainted? If such land-cultivation should take place, (as I am inclined to believe we shall be compelled to) would it not prove of singular service, if we had schools and masters of agriculture settled in proper places, with allowance, to instruct our wealthiest farmer's sons in the several arts and branches of that important business; which so many practise, and so few understand? The science of husbandry and agriculture being, according to my humble judgment, but in its infancy, why should there not be public seminaries established for its advancement as well as of any other art or mystery? Is it not this that gives mankind their daily bread? Is it not this that gives sustenance to millions of our people, and miriads of the human species throughout the creation?

Is not this the grand art which is the foundation of all commercial materials, and dealings? Are we not, to our eternal scandal, infinitely deficient in the production of timber, and divers precious woods that we fetch from foreign climes? Is it less to our shame and reproach that we shall be obliged for hemp and flax to other nations, when we can so easily raise them within ourselves? But what an unspeakable ignominy is it, that our people are often, as they are at present perishing for want of corn, as well as meat at reasonable rates? Is not the former of these national evils to be effectually remedied by the establishment of proper storehouses and granaries? Hath not experience sufficiently manifested what advantage other nations have received, by their keeping bread at a reasonable stated price through the year? By this means, are not the workman's wages, and the value of his goods most fixt and certain? By our people, never feeding too dear, could not England often undersell our foreign rivals, instead of being always undersold by them on this and other accounts? Does not the very terror of famine make such public store-houses so frequent in Poland, Germany, Italy, Swisserland, and Geneva? Holland has not only effectually guarded against this evil within themselves, but has thereby secured the cheapness of her manufactures, and her navigation?

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By the cultivation of fresh quantities of land, England could easily supply herself, by the means of proper granaries established in the maritime counties with amply quantities of grain, as well for her own use, as exportation in time of scarcity; and she might keep the same always at near such a price, as the farmer might be encouraged to plow, and the manufacturer be able to eat and work at a reasonable price: for want of which, her trade and her tillage will ever so greatly fluctuate as to discourage both. Granaries being erected and filled under proper regulations, would free us forever from those terrible apprehensions of dearth and famine, we have so lately experienced. By having such store-houses, the government would easily judge, from the annual crops and quantities lodged in them, when it would be proper to check the exportation, from time to time; as when high prices from abroad would the emptying of those granaries too much; lest by that means, we should be obliged to purchase back again corn at a more advanced price, than we received for our own. Public granaries being in England under the power of proper magistrates appointed by parliament; those erected by merchants or private societies might have the liberty of being filled from abroad occasionally, or emptied whenever their proprietors found the advantage thereof. Lesser granaries might also be erected

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erected in some of the inland counties, where it should be judged convenient. To which end, the method practised by some inland countries in Europe might be introduced, if at any time a scarcity at home were apprehended; which, when that does happen, is commonly in the beginning of winter; and then an estimate should be made of the quantity of corn that every farmer possesses; who should, by law, be obliged, whenever the government apprehended a scarcity, to lodge one third part of their grain, when threshed, in those granaries, to supply the markets at home, in case the demand from abroad, were so great as to encourage such an exportation, as would leave us too small a quantity wherewith to supply our domestic wants afterwards.

THE money got for the grain sold out of those granaries, should be paid to the farmers, in proportion to the quantity each of them deposited therein. Those granaries should be filled only under these regulations, when a scarcity was apprehended at home, and when the other granaries settled in the maritime or sea-port counties were exhausted: but this kind of granary would be chiefly in use in the inland counties, where there is little water-carriage, and grain cannot be brought from distant parts, without great expence. Whence we may reasonably hope, that a beginning, in consequence of breaking up more and more land, from year to year,

year, may be made to those storehouse establishments; and when their convenience, and the profits shall be experienced, proper regulations, from time to time, will render them more and more beneficial; for the whole community would soon find the difference between a regular and constant market, and the present uncertain startings occasioned by the rise and fall of them, by reason of a glut, or a scarcity.

WHILE other nations labour to plow and enrich, even their poorest grounds, we can hardly be persuaded to break up our richest plains, which by nature seem peculiarly designed for tillage. Is it not miserable to consider how industriously the Swissers plow the naked sides of their mountains, and the Welch struggle to force a crop from their barren rocks, while England's finest lands that would prevent a famine, are neglected? When the Poles were once endeavouring to raise the price unreasonably of their corn on the Dutch, the States ordered their ambassador to propose to the Czar; that if he would put his subjects upon tillage, they would not only buy their grain from them, but they would send them over skilful husbandmen to instruct them completely in the arts of agriculture. This proposal so alarmed the Poles, that to break off the treaty, they lowered the market, and thereby kept the Dutch their customers ever since. And is not this one of the most estimable branches
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of commerce that the Dutch possess? What hinders but England might take share in a considerable proportion of this trade? By the continued cultivation of land, in the degree proposed, according to their natural, and what their political encrease might be rendered, by attracting laborious and ingenious foreigners into the state; why might not England and Ireland too become the principal granaries of the world?

THE erecting public granaries would create this new branch of trade, which we never yet enjoyed: and how could they fail answering the same lucrative ends to us that they have long done to the Dutch? It should be considered too, that this is a solid trade, not liable to seizures at the caprice of foreign princes, to captures by privateers in time of war, to storms and shipwrecks at sea, or to the frauds of officers in remote countries. Here the provident, who store up the excess of the bounties of nature against the unavoidable calamities of bad seasons, besides the seeing our own people fully supplied, whilst our neighbours are complaining, will be benefited in their incomes, not by adding to, but redressing the grievances of the distressed poor: and as corn is seldom many years together under 40s. the storehouses proposed may pay better interest for money, than any of our present funds.

THIS cultivating and magazing in time of plenty and cheapness, will render the bounty needless on exportation of corn,

as well as make needless those laws relating to its importation; and also against engrossers, regraters, and forestallers quite useless; for when the price of all things shall be reduced, and all taxes gradually taken off the necessities of life, we shall be able to raise corn as cheap or cheaper than our neighbours; and we shall have no occasion for importation, which prejudices our own landed interest, but upon speculation for re-exportation to gainful markets abroad: whereby, we should have more corn, in more hands in the nation; consequently be less liable to imposition by engrossers, who in this case could afford to sell to our own people 10 or 15 per cent. cheaper than to foreigners, by the freight, charges, and risks being saved. And when any foreign demand happens, having not only our public granaries for our own supply, but also more private ones, the exportation of corn, far from being dangerous, will occasion a trade greatly beneficial.

MEASURES of this kind would prove of no little benefit to our manufactures of all sorts, as proving the natural means of keeping labour low; for as the income must bear proportion to the necessary expence; when corn, in bad years, shall be dear with our neighbouring states, their labour, and consequently their manufactures must grow dear in the like proportion; whilst our own people being supplied cheap from the granaries, will be able, by cheap labour, to bring their
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manufactures cheap to market. And will they not hereby make their way against those of foreigners, and establish a reputation difficult to be removed?

As freights also must bear a proportion to the ship's expence, whereby our owners of shipping in general will be furnished with biscuit cheaper than either the French or the Dutch; and the cheaper are our freights, will not the greater be our sea-carrying trades, the greater the increase of our seamen, and consequently the greater the increase of our naval dominion? Moreover, will not the importation of corn upon speculation for the sake of better markets, and its re-exportation when the markets shall be advanced, still more and more augment the employment of our shipping and our brood of seamen?

By this means labour will be afforded so cheap, that our people will have the more constant employment; for by our thus being always able to feed our people cheaper in times of scarcity than foreigners, they can have no pretence to the rise of their wages above them; the miseries of our poor in hard winters will be prevented, and the corn trade furnish additional business to very great numbers of the indigent.

A STATE cannot be too provident to guard against all times of scarcity; such calamitous seasons producing destructive maladies amongst the mass of the people; whereas a
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universal plenty will prevent those national distresses, and thereby preserve numberless lives : and the better the means of living are in any country, the more numerous and prosperous will the natives grow, and the more useful people from other countries will be induced to flock thither.

THE corn trade alone will thus greatly enrich England. Holland is never without prodigious quantities of corn laid up in their magazines, purchased when cheap, in order to supply other countries, to their advantage. A dearth in England, France, Italy, or Portugal has been experienced to enrich Holland for seven years after. Sir Walter Raleigh, in his observations on trade, presented to king James I, says, that in his time the Hamburghers, Embdeners, and Dutch, out of their storehouses furnished this kingdom; and from Southampton, Exeter, and Bristol, in a year and a half, carried away near 200,000 l. sterling; and he computes their supply then for the whole kingdom carried away two millions. Had magazines of corn been erected some years ago in England, what immense sums might we not have brought into the nation in the year 1740? And whatever would in this manner cause trade to flourish, employ the poor, increase the number of industrious people, and augment the national wealth, could not fail to encrease the value of our lands. For the greater the demand is for the necessaries of life, and the materials

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materials of manufacture, the greater price will lands fetch, the more permanent will be the income of landholders, by enabling the people always to pay their rents. And the people in general must inevitably increase with the general plenty and felicity; and the more the people trade, the more money is brought into the kingdom, and the more money the people have, the more it will encrease, and they become double the consumers of the produce of lands and all manufacture. In all countries the natural price of home commodities is according to their plenty, the demand, and the proportion of money that the trade circulates; and the more thereof does circulate, the better rent certainly can the farmer afford to give for their lands: it is people, with plenty of money that improve lands; and the more they are improved, the better rents they will bear, which will also encrease their value in purchase.

THE gradations from the encouragement of trade to the benefit of land are solid and certain; and therefore the breaking up of fresh lands, and adding instantly to the cultivation, as the people naturally multiply, is the solid and certain way to encourage trade; and that upon the eternal basis of nature's laws. By this means we shall be soon enabled to erect public granaries of corn; which, under proper regulations, as has been observed, will prevent the price of wheat from ever sinking

so low as to ruin the farmer, but on the contrary to keep up a good price, that must at length even encrease the natural value of our lands, and enable the tenants to be certain and punctual in the payment of their rents: so that although, by the constant addition of more land in cultivation, as has been urged, the rents of lands should have a fall; yet as the universal plenty will enable gentlemen to live more hospitably and splendidly on a less real and permanent income than they do on a greater nominal one, that ebbs and flows by a precarious rental income, they must be gainers inevitably by such policy; and, therefore, at length, they will experience the necessity of promoting it.

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DISSERTATION IV.

Farther considerations on the establishment of public granaries, as recommended to the practice of France, by some of their ablest writers; and which may be considered as applicable to England in many respects, and consistent with the tenour of this work.

A MULTIPLICITY of private granaries is the first thing necessary towards keeping up a plenty of corn in the kingdom, as well as towards keeping the price pretty equal at all times, and procuring the farmer a reasonable profit.

IT is a known axiom in practical commerce, that a commodity bears a low price when there are more sellers than buyers. If corn is at a very low price, the incomes of private persons must suffer; labour too must be suspended: what resource has the state left under those circumstances but to open its ports to foreigners who are willing to purchase its corn, by which the number of buyers are increased?

FOREIGNERS either consume that corn, or lay it up in their storehouses. If it be

for their own consumption that they buy it, the quantity sold will be limited, because several corn countries will vie in supplying them. If it be to lay up, their purchases will be in proportion to the lowness of the price, and so rapid, that we are often not apprized of the too great glut, till it is felt. The hungry farmer sells as fast as he can, to supply his urgent want of money, without foreseeing a greater impending want. A bad harvest comes, and foreigners sell us back, at an advanced price, that same commodity which we suffered them to monopolize.

If we suppose that several persons in each county lay up stores of corn in plentiful years, a proper rivalry will be much better established than when fourscore or a hundred Dutch merchants shall cause the same quantity to be bought up by a few commissioners. There will, therefore, be more buyers, and consequently the price will rise. It is so much the more certain, that that will be the case, as the Dutch merchants will try equally to take advantage of the lowness of the price, during the first months next after harvest.

THE revolution occasioned by a superabundance, will certainly be so soon over, that it cannot hurt the farmer. On the contrary he will enjoy his wealth, and enjoy it in safety. For if the next harvest should fail, every one would know that such and such granaries are full: imaginary hunger, more violent, perhaps, than real, will cause no disturbance in

in the public order. Whilst on one side those who want to buy will be easy, because they will know there is a sufficient stock to answer their demand; the proprietors of the corn knowing as well as they, the state of that commodity, will on the other hand, be fearful of losing the first opportunity that offers to sell it to advantage. They will sell, from time to time, so much at least as will secure their capital: the competition between the several quantities that are offered to sale will be a continual check on each other, prevent any one's holding his corn up at too high a price, and increase timidity in the sellers.

So active and so powerful is the principle of rivalry, that it is of itself sure to direct these various operations.

THE execution of so simple an idea can meet with but three difficulties: the opposition of the laws, the prejudices of the vulgar against storing up corn, and want of confidence.

IF the necessity of considering agriculture as an object of commerce shall be allowed, we must from thence conclude, that those laws, which cramp the corn trade in the country where produced, are incompatible with the welfare of agriculture.

THE object of trade most certainly is to establish a plenty of commodities; but the object of the trader is gain. The first cannot be fulfilled but by the second, or the hopes

and expectation of it. What profit can be expected from a speculation on commodities which none are allowed to keep till their prices rise? Three or four plentiful harvests running, are no new thing in many countries. It has even been observed, that great scarcities have not happened, till after such repeated plenty.

THE law by which the French are forbid to keep their corn above three years, should, therefore, have had the contrary effect of what was intended by it. The wisdom of its motive, was this :

THE winters in France, and most of their corn lands, are so wet, that their corn does not keep well. The ignorance or poverty of the French farmers, added to the pernicious effects of the badness of the seasons, by the little care they took of their granaries. Hope, which will always influence and preside over human counsels, made them keep their corn on from time to time, thinking still to sell it more advantageously, whilst, in fact, they encreased their loss every day. The long-expected time came at last; the granaries were thrown open, and part of what they contained was spoiled. Notwithstanding all the precautions that were taken not to let the people know of its being thrown into the river, it was not possible to conceal the carriage of so bulky a commodity. Such a sight could not but pierce the hearts of the poor, and with great reason : they were inclined

clined to think those losses only artifices to enhance the price of their means of subsistence; the very uncertainty they were under of the truth of facts, and the mystery, with which that affair was conducted, all contributed to inflame their imaginations, already overheated by their wants *.

THIS reflection shews how highly valuable is the present which M. Duhamel || has made his country. He has prevented in a plain and very cheap manner, all those inconveniencies which raised the general outcry against the duke of Bourbon, and has even armed the laws against the hoarding up of corn.

LET us likewise add, that it is difficult for laws and reputation not to bear the stamp of the prejudices of the times in which they are made. The destruction of those monsters must be the work of a judicious restriction.

THE arguments we have hitherto made use of, sufficiently demonstrate the errors of popular prejudice, in relation to the profits made by the corn trade. Without those profits, trade would be at an end; and without trade, there would be no plenty. Nor shall we say much of the ridiculous error inspired

* This was in the minority of the present king of France, and owing to the duke of Bourbon's management with Paris, Vernay, and others.

|| *Traité de la conservation des grains, et en particulier du froment.*

by injurious engrossers, either great or small; if small they cannot do much hurt; and if great the laws may take cognizance of them.

BUT it is not enough to oppose reason against errors of this kind: to alter and direct the spirit of a nation is a work reserved to the legislator, who will be sure to succeed by respecting and favouring those that concur in his views.

THE French have already taken some steps towards the true principles and maxims to be observed, with regard to the housing of corn. It is some years since, that the government ordered all the religious houses in the kingdom of France never to be without three years provision of corn. Nothing could be better judged, nor more easily executed. In plentiful years it will not cost twice the sum of one year's provision at the medium price. Every community must be able to comply with this order, unless it be in debt; in which case the laws and public welfare require it's being suppressed, and it's possessions annexed to those of some other religious order.

To this expedient the keeper of the seals in France has added another still more extensive, and worthy his superior views. He has obliged the contractors for victualling the troops on their march, to have, during the time of their contract, which is for three years, a certain quantity of corn always ready in every province. One plentiful harvest will
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be sufficient to give that establishment a proper degree of solidity : it may too be annexed to the farm of the demesnes.

By this means the French have magazines of corn authorised, and even ordered by the state. The motives of those regulations, and the laws of rivalry, always mutually useful to the proprietors and consumers of a commodity, naturally lead to a thorough reformation of abuses.

WERE the king of France but to issue an edict granting some distinction, or, at first, some small reward, in favour of such magazines as should be stored with a certain quantity of corn, and be built after the new manner ; likewise subjecting them to be registred with the intendant of the province or his deputies, it would soon root out the national prejudice. If the preamble to such an edict did but convey some instruction to the more ignorant class of people, that day would be forever blessed in France. The French provinces cannot be said to want men rich enough for such, an undertaking. A slight knowledge of their condition is sufficient to shew, that all their money does not circulate. It is, doubtless, a great misfortune to them ; and the profits arising from the corn trade are held in such esteem, that that would, perhaps, be the surest means of restoring to the public, ease and convenience, those treasures which now lye buried. Let us but follow
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the principle of rivalry, which cannot mislead us: it is not a few immense granaries that would be of use, but a great number of middling ones; that is what ought to be aimed at; it is to such as those that a bounty, if a bounty should be thought proper to be granted in France, should be given.

WANT of confidence is the third difficulty that might be met with in the execution of this scheme. Some distrust might arise from former examples of granaries broke open by authority. The danger must be great, indeed, that can justify such a step: for a granary cannot vanish away in a moment, especially, if it be such a one as merits the attention of the magistrate. At least, it must be owned there would have been no necessity for such extremes, if there had been a great number of such granaries in France. Consequently the very nature of this scheme secures superiors from the necessity of using such disagreeable means, and private persons in the safe enjoyment of their property. A proper confidence can, however, never be better established than by a solemn promise at no time whatever to force any one to open a registred-granary. This distinction alone would induce them to comply with so essential a formality, as that of enregistering them, and a state of such registers might be published, whenever it should be thought proper.

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As in all things a beginning must be made, and an example set, it might, perhaps, not be amiss to oblige the several companies of traders and artizans in every city corporate ||, to keep each of them a granary, or two, or three. Almost all those companies are rich enough to do it out of their fees of admission, fines, and other perquisites: nay, some of them are but too rich at the expence of trade, and the poorer class of workmen. They all have credit, and the speculation here proposed, being in itself lucrative, cannot be a burden to any of the numbers. It would be proper that those several companies should have the management of their own granaries, and that a public account should be given of their administration to the city magistrates.

WHEN the usefulness both public and private, of such an establishment should be once known, it is reasonable to think, that the spirit of charity would bestow some of it's gifts that way; for surely no alms can be more meritorious than those by which the working poor are supplied with bread at a cheap rate; for the creator has ordained that man shall earn his bread with the sweat of his brows.

THIS forming of these stores, with the supplies sent to the French sugar islands, and

|| Might not some thing of this kind be easily done by the several companies of traders of the city of London, and of the other corporate cities in England?

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the usual current consumption. already secure the farmer a considerable vent for his commodity in plentiful years. But, in order to make such a regulation at home, answer its full intent, it must likewise be followed and supported by other regulations as to it's foreign concern.

THE object of the legislator, is to establish an equilibrium between the class of labourers and that of mechanics.

To encourage the labourer it is necessary, that the commodity he consumes be purchased at the greatest possible height of rivalry in plentiful years.

It is likewise essential, that most of those purchasers be made by his fellow citizens. Now the latter will not be tempted to lay in a stock, but by the hopes of gain.

THAT gain depends on the inequality of harvests, and the diminution of the quantity of corn in a certain proportion to the want of it.

ON the one hand, it is not usual for seven years to pass without some inequality in the harvests : on the other, several plentiful harvests often succeed each other. If the corn be never exported, the diminution of it's mass will be imperceptible. There will be no profit in keeping it, no granaries established, nor any plenty reign. Or else another bad effect will ensue: if corn be at a very low price, the best and most valuable kinds will be used without distinction to feed animals ; which

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might be equally well fattened with other inferior sorts. Those inferior sorts being made little or no use of, the bad or middling lands of which they are the production, will be abandoned, and consequently a considerable part of agriculture lost.

A DIMINUTION of the mass of corn after a plentiful harvest can, therefore, not be advantageously effected but by foreign purchasers.

THE exportation of corn ought, therefore, to be permitted, in order to procure a sufficient quantity to answer the want of it, and establish an equilibrium in it's price.

A question naturally occurs, which is, the quantity proper to be exported.

I ANSWER it is exactly so much as secures a profit to him who hath laid in a stock, without prejudicing the subsistence of workmen, sailors, and soldiers.

THE exportation ought, therefore, to be regulated by the price of bread, or corn, and that price ought to be proportioned to the abilities of the poor.

LET us be guided by facts. We have found the medium price of the setier of wheat in France, weighing 230 lb. was 18 liv. 13 sols, 8 deniers, from 1706 to 1745 inclusively. But since 1736, the medium price has been from 19 to 20 livres: we will say 19 liv. 10 sols. So long as wheat does not exceed that price, nor other grains are higher
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in proportion, bread may be thought cheap on the present footing of hire or wages.

Two thirds of a year's produce are not sufficient for the subsistence of France. But it is possible, that the price may exceed the medium of 19 liv. 10 sols, when there is no more than just the value of that quantity. Those who deal in corn ought, if they have the least knowledge of what they are about, to lay in, besides what is destined for current demands, a stock reserved for extraordinary cases, and keep it by them, until, by the appearance of the next harvest, they are able to judge how it is like to turn out. There can never be any great hazard in such a speculation, if the corn be well bought.

THE moment the appearance of such a harvest promises an encrease of price, corn grows scarcer at market, because several form the same scheme at the same time, without acquainting each other with it; and each flatters himself he shall at all events not be obliged to sell, even the last part of what he has, under the present price. The price of corn must, therefore, rise above the medium price, when the quantity in being is generally thought not to exceed what is just necessary: such as are acquainted with the trade will not gainsay this.

WE will suppose those reserves made by the dealers in corn to be one sixth only, when wheat is at it's medium price of 19 liv. 10 sols the setier, and other grain in proportion. It
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may from thence be inferred, that when the setier of wheat is at 16 livres 5 sols, and other kinds of grain bear a price in proportion, there is in the kingdom half a year's subsistence beyond the necessary quantity, or two sixths remaining good. So that though the next harvest should produce but one third, no dearth or scarcity could be feared. In such cases the common people in France eat more chesnuts, rye, millet, pease, beans, &c. whereby the consumption of other grain is diminished in proportion.

A MULTIPLICITY of granaries would be a very great encrease of those reserves; and even, though there should be but twice the number of what there now is, it would be a resource for two years, which in all human probability, would be sufficient to keep bread at a moderate price.

THE price of 16 livres 5 sols the setier of wheat, should, therefore, seem the utmost boundary at which it should be permitted to be exported. Perhaps it might be proper, in order to favour poorer lands, which stand more in need of encouragement, not to observe the proportion too exactly, with regard to the meslin-corn, rye and barley. The price for exporting meslin-corn might be fixed at less than 14 livres 5 sols, that of rye under 13 livres, and of barley under 10 livres the setier. The medium price of the setier of oats weighing 480 lb. having been for years at about 12 livres, the exportation might

might be allowed, when the price is under 11 livres.

IF we now suppose the granaries filled in a plentiful season, when wheat should be at 14 livres the setier; the profit that might be expected from it, even before the least rise of price should prohibit the exportation, would be 17 per cent.. Such a speculation being evidently advantageous, adventurers would not be wanting to engage in it.

AT the same price the farmer, not able to keep his corn, would still find a sufficient profit to encourage him to continue and increase his culture: for I suppose a plentiful year, in which every acre of middling land would produce four for one, wheat being at that price, and other grain in proportion, three years harvest would produce, according to the old culture 88 livres, the expence 54 livres. Remains 34 livres to pay rent, taxes, and the farmer's labour. That is to say, that taxes being at 3 sols in the livre, in order to let an acre of land at 7 livres 10 sols a year, the farmer must be content with clearing 36 sols per acre per annum, and the profit he can make by his cattle. As on the other hand, there are many lands capable of producing wheat, which will require a greater expence than 54 livres per acre in three years, and will produce less than 88 livres, even in the best of years, it plainly follows, that it were to be wished, wheat was never to be sold under 14 livres the setier, when
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when the land-tax is at 3 sols per livre, and so of the rest. Otherwise the equilibrium of that profession with others would be at an end; quantities of land would remain uncultivated, and numbers of men be deprived of subsistence.

A HOME and a foreign rivalship of buyers, properly combined, is alone capable of preventing the price of corn from falling too low: at the same time that it would secure to labourers and working men the hopes of never paying more than 21 or 22 livres the setier for wheat, even in times of scarcity. For to the half year's subsistence, which we have found must be before hand in the kingdom, when wheat is at 16 livres 5 sols the setier, must be added the natural encrease of harvests, when the farmer is once sure of finding his account thereby. Accordingly I am convinced, that if ever this method should be put in practice for seven or eight years, it would be found indispensably necessary, in order to establish a thorough proportion between all branches of hire and wages, to extend the permission for exportation as far as 18 or even 19 livres the setier. It is equally sure, that if France trades yearly for two hundred millions of livres, and gains five and twenty by the balance; in forty years, besides reducing the interest of money, it would likewise be necessary to enlarge still somewhat farther the permission to export corn;

for otherwise the class of labourers, and husbandmen would be less happy than others.

AT the price we have proposed, the state would be under no necessity of granting a bounty to encourage exportation, the thing intended being only to enable its merchants to compete with others at foreign markets. But it would be very proper to restrain all leave of exportation of corn to French ships only, and those built in France. Those prices are so low, that the dearness of their freight would not hurt the exportation: to bring that freight lower, which is a very essential point, the only means are an encrease of navigation, and a low interest of money.

IT may possibly be objected to our last proposal, that in case there should be but few capitals employed in trade, it would be depriving the farmer of his present resource.

BUT capitals can no longer be few in trade, unless some public discredit was to happen: such discredit must be occasioned by some domestic maladministration; and that would of necessity require being remedied. Under such calamitous circumstances, the greatest part of the people are unemployed: it is, therefore, proper, in order to preserve the number of inhabitants, that the first and most necessary commodity of all should be very cheap; justice requires that all should partake in any public disaster. Besides, if some lock up their money and others their goods,

goods, great exportations would reduce the people to two of the worst extremes at once; cessation of labour, and dearness of provisions.

To reduce the prices in the ports and on the frontiers of France, according to those prices here proposed, a due regard being had to the weights and measures of each place, would be very easy, and of advantage to the state, for two reasons.

I. IN order to equal the condition of all the provinces, which is but just.

II. To avoid arbitrariness, otherwise almost inevitable. From the moment that an equality of condition should cease to reign between the provinces, all the advantages of home and foreign regulations would be lost; for they can never subsist, without each other.

As to foreign corn, it is a good policy to prohibit the importation of it, in order to favour our own lands. That prohibition may at any time be taken off when necessity requires. The French have no reason to fear that other nations will refuse them corn: and, if by any extraordinary event, beyond all human foresight, that state should be reduced to a scarcity, it may depend on subsistence from the competition of its merchants, tempted by a prospect of gain. Nothing but a war, and that a very unfortunate one by sea, can require the government's undertak-

ing part of that care. It would not, however, be proper to interdict all foreign corn trade, when the merchant and mariner gain by it. The design of free ports is to promote such speculations abroad as are illicit at home. It is very easy without much trouble, to confine within them all such commodities as it would be dangerous to communicate to the rest of the people; especially when they are so bulky as corn is. It is enough to resolve it, and to convince those whose duty it is to watch over that branch, that they are really paid for it.

THE French might, therefore, at all times very safely allow the merchants of Dunkirk, Bayonne, and Marseilles, to have granaries of Northern, Sicilian, or African corn, to be re-exported to Italy, Spain, Portugal, or Holland; but never to be sent out of those towns to any part of France.

THOSE granaries, if such were formed, could not but contribute to prevent sudden revolutions in the prices, by keeping the consumers always in spirits.

A FRENCHMAN, who compares the English prices with those I have here laid down, will undoubtedly be sorry to see his country so far from producing an equal quantity of corn. The principles we at first laid down will be some comfort to him, if duly considered. It is essentially necessary for the French to keep their labour at a certain degree

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gree of cheapness *, but without forcing it, whilst the interest of money is so high with them : their foreign trade is increased by it ; the riches that brings them in, encreases the number of consumers of meat, wine, butter, and, in short, of all the productions of the land of the second, third, and fourth degrees of necessity : the consumption of those commodities pays taxes and duties, by which the land is eased. For in a country where nothing should be produced by industry, every tax would immediately affect the land. On the other hand, manufactures increase with the number of cattle, and the latter are of service to the lands.

WE may farther observe, that France is obliged to maintain a very considerable number of soldiers and sailors : it is of infinite advantage that they be able to subsist on their small pay ; for otherwise the public expences would encrease, and with them taxes. This observation should be a sufficient answer to all objections that can be made against the freedom of the corn trade ; but men, accustomed to find fault with every thing that does not coincide with their prejudices or private interests, have no respect for even reasons of state, the most sacred of all, when rightly understood ; and such object, that if

* This is the great point, that I have endeavoured to accomplish in Great Britain, throughout this, and all my other labours.

France should be under a necessity of providing any considerable store of provisions, the rivalship of buyers, both national and foreign, would make the prices rise.

THIS pretended difficulty may be solved several ways. 1. The double rivalship that is objected, joined to that of the sellers, would soon make the price rise to that degree as of itself to amount to a prohibition of exportation. 2. If the price does not rise so high as to prevent exportation, it is a proof of a superabundance of the commodity, and of the urgent necessity of easing agriculture. 3. If that rivalship does not extend beyond the national purchases, not only the prices will in all probability not rise immoderately, but it is likewise evident, that the more private magazines of corn there are known to be, the less those prices will rise. 4. In case corn should be bought a little dearer on account of this competition or rivalship at home, it will be an additional motive for every man to encrease it, and thereby secure more and more the national stock of provisions. 5. In case of this supposed encrease, it seems probable, that it would rather be the seller's profits that should be lessened, than the price of the commodity raised. This useful operation can never be more easily put in execution than when the state is rich enough to pay punctually: now the state can never be richer than when the cultivators of its lands are so.

To

To resume the comparison of the price of corn in France, with its price in England. It is not by the quantity of money that we ought to judge of the ease of the subjects of both crowns, but by the nature and quantity of conveniencies they are able to procure themselves with what money each of them is respectively possessed of.

If the circulation of specie in France be established in an equal degree with that of the representative value in England; if the lands in France are not more burdened in proportion to their incomes; if taxes are levied without greater oppression on the labourer's industry; their agriculture will flourish, their harvests will be as plentiful in proportion to the extent and fruitfulness of their respective lands, as the English; the number of their cultivators will be in the same proportion with the other classes of the people: and, in fine, they will enjoy the same ease as those in England do.

THIS observation implies several of the other conditions, by which agriculture may be carried to perfection. The principles we have laid down, with regard to the most essential object of culture, stand themselves in need of being supported by others; because, as men are susceptible of very various impressions, the legislator cannot bring them to his end, but by a reunion of motives.

THE best laws and regulations concerning corn, would not alone suffice to bring agriculture to perfection, if the nature of the taxes and methods of levying them, did not likewise contribute to give the farmer hopes; and, what is more certain, convince him in his own mind, that his ease will encrease with his labour, and also his flock of sheep and herds of cattle, with the fresh lands he plows up, as the means he takes to perfect his profession; and in short, with the encrease of harvest, providence shall be pleased to bless him with. In a country where the farmer should be distressed, on one side by a greedy landlord, who should rigorously insist on the strictest payment of his rent, and on the other, by a collector of the taxes, whom the public necessity should force to be urgent, he would live in continual dread of two executions at once: one is sufficient to discourage and ruin him.

LET us for a moment cease to consider agriculture in its relation to trade; and we shall necessarily see all the various difficulties and obstacles of which we have just now shewn the danger, occur one after another. That they ever existed was owing to want of seeing in this important light, that which of all others ought to be the first and greatest concern of the legislator. This remark is a farther proof, that the progress of agriculture is always greatest in that country whose
laws

laws are best and wisest, or at least best observed.

As no general principle can hold good in all cases, we will add to this a very essential restriction; and which we have already found to be a consequence of our first argument.

To establish the most perfect equality possible between the several occupations of the people, being one of the chief cares of the legislator; it is of equal importance to him to favour in agriculture the various parts of that profession, in proportion to their respective needs. That can never be done by checking or restraining, or at least it cannot be brought about by such means, without confusion: and after all, the laws will be evaded, where a profit is to be made. It is, therefore, by restraining the profits, that such a proportion must be effected.

THE shortest and most simple way is, to tax the lands as commodities are taxed; that is to say, always less in proportion to the greater degree of necessity for them: but in such manner, however, as not to prevent the demand for even the most trivial necessities: for by so doing the springs of imposts and population would be dried up. This method would undoubtedly be one of the great uses of a general land-register; nor would it be impossible to put it in practice in the mean

mean time. If France has too many vineyards, in proportion to her arable lands, the general cause of it must be, because vineyards yield more. Would it be unjust, in order to equal them, to make vineyards pay a fifteenth and arable lands only a twentieth?

By that means every kind of land would certainly, and without any trouble, be appropriated to what it is fittest for. Nothing more can be wished, when all necessary wants are once provided for. However good laws may be in every respect, they cannot force the earth to produce: they may, indeed, limit her productions; but then they limit population at the same time. Of all laws the most prevailing is interest.

THE subject is too important not to add proof upon proof; and the vineyards I have been speaking of, afford me an experienced one which I cannot help urging. Plantations of vines have encreased greatly in France, because quantities of land are fit for nothing else: but that is not the only reason; for numbers of fields, which before produced plenty of very good corn, have been turned into vineyards.

It is well known that the expence of planting a vineyard is great; and it is some years before the young vines bear. It is the most casual of all incomes, for a shower of hail will sometimes rob the planter of all his
 hopes

hopes for several years to come : he has no resource left in bad years, and the expence of cultivation is always the same. The quality of the wine seldom makes amends for the want of quantity ; in plentiful years wine is as liable as any other commodity to bear a low price ; it cannot be kept without expence, difficulty, and hazard. What then can be the motive that induces the owner of a corn land in France, to convert it into a vineyard, and invent so many pretences to elude the law to the contrary ? In short, how can that kind of culture support itself there, whilst the number of rival sellers encreases every day, not only among themselves, but in Spain and Portugal too ? Those two points deserve to be considered separately.

THE first is accounted for by the freedom of trade and liberty to keep both wine and brandy. That commodity, in which property is best secured, will always be proposed : now property is more secure in wine than in corn, because it is lawful to keep the one as long as we think proper, to buy, export, or sell it as we please ; which in the other article is prohibited.

THE culture of vines in France supports itself notwithstanding the risks, for two reasons. First, because a rivalship of buyers is in general better established for that commodity than any other ; except in some of the state demefnes, by the French called *Païs d'Etat*, where

where the farmers are allowed to deal in wine and brandy, and where they monopolize those two articles by being able to sell them cheaper than others can. And, secondly, because the owners of vineyards keep them in their own hands: their easy circumstances enable them to carry that culture to perfection, to lay out on it as much as is necessary, and to wait for proper opportunities of selling their commodity.

THIS discussion certainly adds a new weight to two principal maxims, which we have laid down; *viz.* that agriculture cannot be carried to perfection in a country where it is not considered as an object of commerce, and where the cultivators are very poor. It naturally follows, that to grant the owners of lands all possible encouragement to keep them in their own hands, is a means of encreasing the commodities of a state, and of securing a proper stock of provisions. Such encouragement is not compatible with any but a real tax laid on the lands, in consequence of a general accurate register and evaluation of them, as they shall encrease in the quantity cultivated.

THO' it was not my design to consider agriculture in it's practical part, yet what we have said and shall occasionally say on that head, by way of succinct abstract, from the best agricultural philosophers, and practical farmers; we hope, may prove acceptable to many country gentlemen, who would give their more
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ignorant tenants some useful hints, according to the circumstances and situation of their old lands; or such new, as they may be induced hereafter to promote the cultivation of, if ever our general principles in relation thereto should be found to deserve the attention of the legislature.

D I S-



DISSERTATION V.

The preceding subject continued in other political lights.

TR A D E, in it's general acceptation, is a reciprocal communication of what men stand in mutual need of. It is, therefore, evident that agriculture is the necessary basis of trade.

To be satisfied of the truth of a maxim implies but an imperfect knowledge, till the whole stress and force of it be understood: and that consists chiefly in the close connection of the maxim allowed to be true, with another. It is for want of considering things connectedly with others wherewith they have an essential affinity, that the merchant is often induced to look with indifference on the ease or poverty of the farmer, the encouragement he may meet with, or the hardships he may labour under. For the same reason most landholders are apt to envy the advantages of trade, the profits accruing from it, and the number of men employed therein. The error would be much greater, if those landholders were to separate the consideration of the

the interest of their lands from that of the labourer. A nation, in which such prejudices should prevail, would be in a state of infancy in agriculture and commerce; the two chief branches of the domestic administration of a state: for we ought not always to judge of the progress of that part, by the figure a nation makes abroad; no more than we are able to determine how far a man manages his estate prudently, by the expence he seems to live at.

THE idea of preservation is closely connected in every individual with that of his existence; for which reason the occupation that best answers his wants, is the dearest to him. This law of nature cannot be changed by the formation of a society, which is a reunion of particular wills. It is, on the contrary, confirmed and strengthened by new motives, unless that society be supposed the only one existing in the world. If it be neighbouring to other societies, it has rivals; and preservation requires it's being supported, by all the strength and vigour it is capable of receiving. Agriculture is the first, and most natural means of procuring it that strength and vigour.

SUCH a society will be composed of as many members as the culture of it's lands can employ or maintain: those members will become hale and robust, by being innured and habituated to fatigue, and they will be the honestest and the more industrious men,
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by having been always honestly and industriously busied and employed.

If the lands of that society are more fertile, or those who cultivate them more skilful and labourious, they will produce a superabundance of commodities; which will be carried to countries less fertile or less cultivated.

THE sale of those commodities will have the following effects. Such sales will draw from foreigners, money, which constitutes the conventional riches of states. By the lowness of the price, the farmers and planters of rival nations, will be discouraged; and such state will secure more and more every day that advantage over the former rivals.

In proportion as a country is drained of it's hard money, or conventional treasures, and the profits of it's most necessary kind of labour, are lessened to such a degree as no longer to afford the labourer the means of subsisting comfortably, that country must of necessity either become less populous; or, which is worse, a part of it's inhabitants must be compelled to beg, or starve. It follows from the contrary reason, that, by the perpetual encrease of money, and conventional wealth in a country, the number of imaginary, or artificial wants will be multiplied in proportion. Those wants will produce new kinds of occupations: the people will be more happy, marriages more frequent and
more

more fruitful, and men, who cannot subsist comfortably in other countries will flock to one where they can; and more, especially, to Great Britain, where property may be as well secured as plentifully obtained, according to the system, we would endeavour to establish.

SUCH are the necessary effects of superiority of agriculture in one nation over others: and those effects are felt in proportion to the reciprocal fruitfulness of the lands, or the variety of their productions. For this principle would not be the less certain, even though a country, worse cultivated than another, should not be depopulated in proportion to its inferior degree of culture; if at the same time that worse cultivated country furnished naturally a greater variety of productions.

IT is still certain, that it will have lost its advantage both really and relatively, with respect to other countries.

IF agriculture deserves in a body politic the first rank among the occupations of mankind; the culture of those natural productions, for which there is the most general and most necessary demand, deserves to be encouraged in proportion to that demand; as corn, fruits, wood, coal, iron, grass, leather, and wool, great and small cattle, oil, hemp, flax, silk, wine, beer, &c.

THE real strength of a nation may be certainly known, by the encrease or decline of the populousness of it's lands.

THE principal effect of agriculture would be greatly limited, without the assistance of trade, and therefore without it's inseparable connection could never attain to perfection.

NATIONS, who have considered nothing farther in the culture of their lands, than the bare means of self-subsistence, have always lived in perpetual fear of dearths, and have often felt them. Those, on the contrary, who have considered agriculture as an object of commerce, have enjoyed such a series of plenty, as has enabled them, at all times, to supply the necessities of others.

TILL about 1690, England had exported but little corn, and had often been obliged to have recourse to foreign nations, for subsistence. She had felt those disagreeable variations and unexpected revolutions in the prices, which either discourage the farmer or drive the people to despair.

POLAND, Denmark, Africa and Sicily were at that time the public granaries of Europe. The conduct of those states, who lay the corn trade under no restrictions that can cramp it, and their constant plenty, though some of them enjoy neither much tranquility nor the happiness of a good constitution, were undoubtedly sufficient to make the English, sensible of the cause of the evils they complained of. But the countries just men-

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tioned seemed too well settled in the possession of that trade, by the low price at which they could afford their corn, for the English landholders to expect to be able to rival them at foreign markets. The corn trade required an unlimited freedom of laying up stocks of corn, and that for as long a time as should be thought convenient ; a thing which the ignorance and prejudices of those times rendered odious to the nation.

THE state remedied that double inconvenience by the bounty granted on the exportation of corn, in English ships only, when the price does not exceed what the law has fixed it at ; and the prohibition to import any foreign corn, so long as the current price at home is below what is settled by statute. This bounty enabled the English to compete with the most fruitful countries, at the same time that this public sanction given to the trade and storing up of corn, put an end to all vulgar prejudices on that head. The circumstance was, indeed, the most favourable that could be desired ; the nation had that confidence in the new government, without which the best regulations are of no effect.

THE event has demonstrated the rectitude of this policy. From that time, England has known no famine, though she has exported immense quantities of corn almost every year : the variations in point of price have been less rapid and less unexpected ; and the price in general has been lowered. For

when it was resolved in 1689 to grant this bounty, a calculation was made of the price corn had been at on an average for three-and-forty years before: by which the medium price of wheat was found to have been 2*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* a quarter, and other kinds of grain in proportion. By an exact calculation of the price of wheat from 1689 to 1752, the price at an average during those fifty seven years, is found to have been no more than 2*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*

SURPRISING as this variation may seem to be, it is not the less in the natural course of things. The landholder, whose industry was at the same time secured by the government by the land tax, had but one difficulty remaining; which was the sale of his commodity when overstocked. The rivalry of buyers, both at home and abroad, secured that sale, and from that time he exerted his industry with all the emulation, which hopes of success, and security in the enjoyment of it, can alone inspire. Of forty millions of acres of land, which England contains, at least, one third was then commons, besides woods. A considerable proportion of those commons and wood-lands is now sowed and inclosed.

THIS policy was not the only thing that brought about these admirable effects; the lowering of the interest of money likewise contributed, by enabling individuals to till their lands with advantage: but still it is
equally

equally certain, that no landholder would have been at that expence, had he not have been sure of selling his commodities for a reasonable price.

THE design of the state was to encourage the culture of the lands, to procure plenty, and bring the money of other nations into England. It succeeded without doubt ; but so it might in all probability have done, without burdening the state with a superfluous expence ; and without making it's own subjects pay sometimes dearer for bread than foreigners do.

THE state is in two respects loaded with a useless expence, which affects all its subjects without distinction, as well those who are gainers by it, as those who are not.

WHEN the price of corn, is lower in England than in the countries, which compete with her in that trade, it is plain the bounty is then needless. The bare profit attending the exportation, is a sufficient allurements to the merchant.

IF corn is at the highest price, at which it is entitled to the bounty ; and if it happens at the same time to be very cheap at Dantzick or Hamburg ; a profit might be made by smuggling corn from those parts into England, to be afterwards re-exported with the bounty. In that case it is plain, the lands will not have received the encouragement that was designed them. Navigation, indeed, will have been a gainer by it,

but then it must be by loading the state and people with an expence much more considerable than that gain.

THOUGH the private profit of the subject, arising from the sale of corn, repays the whole of the nation the sum advanced, and even more; yet until they who actually paid their contingent of the bounty be reimbursed, with interest, by circulation, a considerable time must elapse; during which, they might have employed that same money to more advantage, perhaps, in a country, where trade, manufactures, fisheries, and the colonies are in a flourishing condition.

NOT that such means of gaining ought to be despised; for no part of the foreign trade of a nation should be slighted; but a wide difference is to be made between the principles of oeconomical trade, or the re-exportation of foreign commodities, and the principles of that trade, which relates to national commodities.

THE encouragements granted the former, are a means of procuring an encrease of inhabitants; they are useful so long as they are not burdensome to the mass of men, who may be considered as the fund of a nation. But that trade, of which the object is the exportation of national commodities, ought to be favoured without restriction. For one pound that such a trade costs a state, it receives back ten or more; each individual is sooner re-imburfed, and with greater profit,
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the contingent he has furnished ; because the whole of that trade belongs immediately to the lands or industry of the subject. On the other hand, the quantity of national commodities never encreases, without encreasing at the same time the mass of men, who may be considered as the nation's stock.

It is difficult to prevent the bringing in of foreign corn in a large island, where it is easy to land at many places : whence one would be inclined to infer, that the bounty had better have been granted only from time to time, and regulated according to circumstances, by the price of corn, in countries, rivals in that branch. Such an operation would have been really salutary, and worthy the admirable principle from whence it flows.

It might, perhaps, be likewise said, that this bounty does not always fall so immediately to the farmer's share of profit, as one would at first sight be inclined to think : for in plentiful years, when corn is bought to be laid up, till a proper opportunity offers to export it, it is not natural to suppose, that the buyers, who are always less in number than the sellers, and, therefore, masters of the price, account with them for the bounty in the value they set on the commodity. In a country, where very few farmers should be able to keep their corn, the bounty would affect the land still less immediately. Let

us by the way observe, that agriculture will never flourish in a nation where the general ease does not begin with the class of labourers. The gains of that class of men depend on the value of the commodities they bring into trade, compared with the expence of producing them: and the value of those commodities depends on the demand for them: consequently, the fewer buyers there are, the less land will yield it's owner, and the less will it be able to bear taxes.

It is a disadvantage attending a too great foreign rivalry, that England supplies foreign workmen with bread at a lower price than it does its own. A short calculation will prove it. Supposing wheat in England at 42 shillings, 3 d. the price it has been at, on an average, for fifty seven years past; it is plain it may be sold in Holland, Flanders, Calais, and even Bourdeaux, at 40 shillings, 3 d. and a good profit made by it. The bounty is 5 shillings per quarter; the freight and insurance will not cost above 2 shillings per quarter; remains one shilling profit; that is to say 3 per cent., on an affair that is over in a month, and in a country where the interest of money is at 3 per cent. per Annum.

If it should be said, in answer to this, that hereby England discourges agriculture in other countries, it may not have the weight some imagine. For that way of reasoning is
more

more specious than solid, if the common price of corn in England be so high, that other nations do not have recourse to the English, except when their own harvests prove very bad. Now every one knows that to be the case, especially with regard to France.

WE have already observed, that the medium price of corn in England has been 42 s. 3 d. sterling per quarter, that is to say, 49 livres, 12 sols, 10 deniers French, for fifty-seven years past: or 24 livres, 16 sols, 5 deniers the Paris setier, said to weigh 240 lb. but as some assert not above 230 lb. The medium price of wheat in the province of Brie, was no more than 18 livres, 13 sols, and 8 deniers for forty years, from 1706 to 1745; notwithstanding the famine in 1709, the scarcity in 1740 and 1741, and the dearth in 1713, 1723, 4, 5, 6, and 1739. Consequently the French begin to subsist with difficulty, when forced to take corn from England at her common price.

To account for the reason of this difference in the price of the two kingdoms, we must have recourse to an invariable principle.

THE price of wages in a nation depends on two things: first, on the expence of living, and secondly on the profits of the several occupations of the people, by a successive encrease of the mass of money introduced by foreign trade. To follow this reasoning

reasoning closely, requires some attention; but at the same time, nothing, perhaps, can be more fit to shew the immediate interest of each citizen in the general balance of trade, and the intimate connection between the divers occupations of the people.

AT the time that England prohibited the exportation of corn, she did not consider agriculture in the light of commerce, and very frequently suffered scarcity: the subsistence of workmen being dear, their wages were high in proportion. On the other hand, her industry being rivaled by few, she gained, in a few years, very large sums by her foreign trade: the money that trade produced, being circulated among the workmen employed in that industry, raised their wages still higher in proportion to the foreign demand, and the rivalry or competition of workmen.

WHEN England, more sensible of her true interests, began to consider agriculture as an object of commerce, she found it was impossible, by restoring plenty of corn, to lower the high wages the dearness of provisions had occasioned. To animate and encourage the husbandman, it was necessary that his profession too, as well as others, should be bettered by the encrease of the national mass of treasure: for without that equilibrium, as just as necessary, the legislator lost, either his men or a branch of their occupation. The state, therefore, let the
lands

lands profit by the high price, which the wages of the other classes of people made corn bear.

THE exportation of corn out of France, was never so free as at the time when England acted on opposite principles; wages were lower, and consequently culture cheaper. The frequent wars she has had to carry on since 1660, and the numerous armies she has been obliged to maintain, have been thought sufficient reasons for restraining the exportation of corn: but that never was for any length of time; that uncertainty and the alternative of some scarcities kept up the farmer's hopes. Agriculture, however, declined in France; for a plentiful harvest now suffices for no more than a year and a half; whereas formerly it was sufficient for two years, though the country was then more populous than it is now. But the care the government has always taken, by various operations to force bread to be cheap, together with the goodness of the lands, and a kind of emulation supported and kept up by the alternate changes of dearth of corn and leave to export it, have in some measure prevented the rise of wages, in proportion to the expence of living.

ON the other hand, the raising of the value of money in France has been a great diminution of the mass of treasure, which the balance of trade brought yearly into that kingdom, for which reason manufacturers and

and workmen have not had, to divide annually amongst them, a mass of treasure in proportion to that which they began to receive at the time of the first epoch of the French commerce; nor in proportion to that which the English workmen had from the establishment of their commerce, till the year 1689.

It is, however, proper and indispensably necessary to settle an equilibrium between the several classes and various occupations of the subject. Corn is the greatest, as well as the most necessary product of the earth: for which reason the farmer, who raises corn, ought to reap thereby such an advantage as will maintain him in his profession, make him amends for the fatigue he undergoes, and enable him to keep as many cattle as his lands can feed. For this last part of farming depends on the success of the first; and their connection is such, that if one gives way the other feels it instantly. Every valuable thing that agriculture could bring into trade, is then lost. But this, pernicious as it is, is not the only misfortune attending a too great cheapness of corn, especially if all the things are not rendered cheap to the farmer in the like proportion.

If the lands are divided into small farms, the farmer's wants oblige him to sell at whatever price he can, within a few months after harvest; that price will often be such as will not repay him what he has advanced

with

with taxes and the rent of his farm. The owners, who have repairs to make, in proportion to the number of their farms, and are not paid their rents, resolve to lay several together, in order to bring them to a less number. Every operation of that kind is a step towards beggary, or rather the annihilation of several families in the state. Even though so inestimable a loss could be submitted to, yet futurity does not offer any means of repairing it.

WHEN the lands are divided into capital farms, it is certain that the farmers are better able to advance sums of money; and those advances will become more burdensome in proportion as corn shall be at a lower ebb of price for want of buyers. The natural effect of this overcharge will be, to keep the wages of labourers low; a considerable part of the people will be thereby condemned to such poverty, as not to be able to consume more than what is barely necessary to keep body and soul together. Even the enjoyment of that bare necessary will be precarious, in proportion to the instability of the price of the commodity, in the culture of which they are employed. From that precariousness will ensue dread of marriage and depopulation; from depopulation and poverty, a chasm in the finances. For experience shews, that of two countries of the same extent, the public revenue will be most considerable in that which is inhabited by the
greatest

greatest number of men, and who are most at their ease. But we have endeavoured to shew how these evils may be prevented; and how these kingdoms may become as populous as they will admit of, and every thing made so plentiful as to enable the mass of the people to double their consumption, and to extend the foreign traffic of the nation in general, so as to make the whole kingdom lastingly prosperous and happy. This is the end that we would aim at, and shall rejoice, if our means may be judged adequate thereto.

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DISSERTATION VI.

*Farther considerations on the connections of
Trade between Great Britain and Ireland
and the British plantations.*

WE have seen in the preceding papers, upon what plain principles of natural, as well as national policy, the trade and commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, and the British plantations, should seem to be advanced, even to what degree the wisdom of the nation shall think fit; and when the same are really advanced to the pitch desirable, by what means they may be maintained and preserved; for the same measures that will give them the exaltation required, will ever after uphold and support them: and what is founded on this ancient and experienced maxim, carrying with it the linaments of truth, may, one day, deserve the deliberate attention of the legislator.

IT has been observed likewise, that it would be most for the interest of the nation in general that England, Scotland and Ireland should interfere as little as may be with each other in their essential articles of traffic; and that the polity of our plantations in
America

America should be constituted upon similar principles as near as can be.

THE woollen manufacture being the great staple of England, it will remain her everlasting interest to support this branch as much as possible against all competitors, as well against any such attempts to injure it either in Ireland or Scotland, and the British plantations, as against the efforts of France or any other foreign rival to ruin it; for the loss of this capital branch will first ruin a great part of the landed interest, and banish our woollen manufacturers out of the kingdom. after that the rest of our artists may soon go a wool-gathering too, according to our English proverb; for our woollen fabrics have proved a great support of most of our other, by promoting their sale in conjunction at the same time: it is by nations, as by private people, if they are well used at an old shop in one article, they will not go to a new for what else they can buy at their old. This is well known to be the case of our British factories settled abroad; one species of goods forces the sale of another of the same nation; and therefore those factors should have the proper assortments of merchandize to accommodate their customers with all those wants, wherewith we can supply them.

ENGLAND, therefore, cannot have too vigilant an eye over her other dominions, in relation to the preservation of this fundamental

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mental branch to herself; and this, indeed, has enabled England to support all her dependent territories, and always will, whilst it is duly preserved upon the principles we have endeavoured to establish in this treatise. Wherefore, it cannot be for the interest of Scotland or Ireland, or the Plantations, to interfere with England herein, because they will not thereby be so able to support themselves and England, as England has been able to support them; for if we suppose the woollen manufacture of England to be divided amongst them all, and the seat of empire transferred from England to either of them; would not this division of the advantage amongst them weaken the power of the whole state? It would be dangerous policy to attempt to shift this manufacture to any other part of the British dominions, lest, whilst we are struggling for it amongst ourselves, foreigners should step in, and deprive them all of it. Besides, it is a manufacture that England has so long excelled in, that Ireland and Scotland being infant states, when compared to England, would be so long before they could arrive to the like perfection, that the nation would, on that consideration also, run the risk of losing the whole. It appears, therefore, that it is for the interest of the kingdom in general, and consequently for the interest of every part, whereof the same is constituted, that England should preserve her woollen manufactures to herself; and to that end,

she should be no less watchful over Scotland and Ireland, than she ought to be over France, or any other foreign state that shall attempt to wrest the same out of our hands.

IT is not sufficient reason that England should give up her woollen manufactory to Ireland or to Scotland, because they may, at present, be able to work cheaper than she can do; or because that they may be able to sell those fabrics cheaper than our foreign competitors shall be able to do; and this for reasons already given in the former part. If, indeed, it was not in the power of England to keep and preserve this manufacture to herself, to that degree at least, which she at present possesses, she ought rather chearfully to give it up to Ireland or Scotland, or even to the British plantations, than to suffer France, or other powers to engross it from the whole nation.

BUT as we have shewn, that it is really in the power of England to afford to sell her woollen, and indeed all other manufactures as cheap as France can do: it will certainly be very ill policy in England to suffer so inestimable a commerce to be wrested out of her hands, when it appears that she is capable of preserving and greatly extending the same.

ALTHOUGH Ireland abounds as well as England with wool no less good in quality than plenty in quantity; yet if England once becomes capable of manufacturing as cheap

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as Ireland or France can do, it will be more for the interest of England to take the whole wool of Ireland, than for them to suffer France to have it; and they would then be capable of working the whole of the Irish as well as their own wool up, as we have before shewn.

As Ireland should by no means be suffered to interfere with the foreign trade of England in her woollens; so it may be best that England should not, in that case, interfere with the linen manufactures, which are carried on in Ireland: she should, on the contrary, leave that branch to the Irish, and encourage the same no less than Ireland should the woollen trade of England, that being their chief staple of commodity.

AND in regard that Scotland enjoys a considerable share in the linen manufactures, and is become the staple commodity of that kingdom also; this manufacture should be so divided between them and Ireland, that they might rather mutually promote and advance each other's interest herein, than prejudice either: and this they may jointly do, by establishing every species of that extensive manufacture amongst them: and while they shall both leave the woollen manufactures wholly to England, the latter should manifest an equal regard to the linen manufacture of both; and more especially so, when Ireland (as we have shewn how that may be

brought about) shall, as well as Scotland, become united with England.

WHEN all things in England become so plentiful and so cheap as we have endeavoured to render them, she will of course grow more and more populous; this will augment the consumption of Scotch and Irish linen, as well as of her own woollens, in England: and not only so, but, from her greater cheapness of labour, she will proportionably extend her navigation; be capable of making more beneficial treaties of commerce with various powers, than subsist at present, and thereby will be enabled to encourage the linen manufacture of Scotland and Ireland, as they may the exportation of the woollen goods of England.

To what degree our northern British plantations may, with security to the commerce of their mother country, be admitted to interfere with the woollen manufactures of England, or the linen of Scotland and Ireland, is what may deserve consideration.

THESE colonies having plenty of provisions amongst themselves, and even a large quantity for exportation, they take nothing of this nature but some Irish beef, butter, and pork, and these they will not want long; and those colonies having interfered with Great Britain in the corn trade to several of her foreign markets; Great Britain and Ireland can expect to receive no great benefit from the plantations in those articles. We
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have hitherto furnished them with a great quantity of their materials for wearing apparel, household-furniture, silk, woollen and linen manufactures; but if they should establish the woollen and linen manufactures amongst themselves, and encourage every other species of artificers to settle amongst them, our plantations may, at length, prove detrimental, instead of beneficial to the three kingdoms.

IF it should be deemed good policy in Great Britain to suffer her northern colonies to supply themselves totally with all wearables, and all furniture, as well as all kinds of provisions; may not this prove a preparatory step towards their becoming capable of supplying other nations herewith; unless they are kept under such proper restrictions as may prevent those injuries to their mother country, as well as to Scotland and Ireland?

THE primary establishment of these colonies was intended principally for the business of planting, not for that of manufacturing. However wise and necessary it may be to indulge them in some degree in the latter; yet the natural consequence thereof, should be effectually guarded against for the benefit of the whole nation; for we well know, that the habit of manufacturing in a few capital articles, will beget that in more; handicraftsmen in one branch of manufactural and mechanical business beget others; and as the

necessaries of life, and the price of labour are likely to grow cheaper and cheaper amongst them, should we not keep a strict eye, that the infant is not reared in a way which may prove detrimental, and at length ruinous to the interest of her parent? While those colonies shall not be capable of manufacturing so cheap as Great Britain and Ireland, it will remain their interest rather to take what they have been wont to do of them: but so soon as they shall be able to furnish themselves equally cheap, we must expect to lose all that exportation: and if they are permitted to go those lengths, it is easy to judge what farther strides they will attempt to go, unless they are duly restrained in their career of manufacturing, by the wisdom of the British legislature.

WE have permitted them to make pig and sow iron; and we have imported great quantities thereof; and now, it seems, they are to be permitted to manufacture bar iron for us, there being a bill now depending in parliament to give them that toleration, and to import the same duty free. This may prove a necessary temporary indulgence, perhaps, because we are not able at present to supply ourselves with a sufficiency of good bar iron; and, therefore, are under the necessity of importing the same from Sweden and Russia, &c. What may farther render a measure of this kind eligible is, that the balance of trade between Great Britain and
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Russia, and her and Sweden, are much to the disadvantage of the former; and therefore, if she cannot furnish herself with a part of her imports from those countries, it may appear wiser to encourage her colonies to supply her with the same.

CERTAIN it is, that the waste and destruction of the woods in Warwick, Stafford, Worcester, Hereford, Monmouth, Gloucester, Glamorgan, Pembroke, Shropshire, and Suffex, by the iron-works, is scarce to be imagined. The scarcity of wood is thereby grown so great, that where cord wood has been sold at five and six shillings per cord, it is now risen to upwards of twelve or fourteen shillings; and in some places is all consumed.—It is necessary, therefore, to preserve our timber from these consuming furnaces, lest they should lay hold of our oak.

WITHIN these seventy or eighty years, Ireland was better stored with oak-timber than England; but several gentlemen from England, as well as in Ireland setting up iron-works, they, in few years swept away the wood to such degree, that they have had even a scarcity of small stuff to produce bark for their tanning; nor scarce timber for their ordinary occasions. So great has been their distress, that they have been obliged to send to England, and elsewhere for bark, and to Norway, &c. for building-timber, and to suffer their large hides to be exported to Holland, Germany, and Flanders, where, to a

great loss in that manufactory, they have been tanned.

If the quantities of bar iron, of which Great Britain and Ireland stand in need, could be manufactured with any species of our pit-coal; or with one half of that, and the other half of wood fuel acting in conjunction, by the proper application of heat; we might, perhaps, be able to supply ourselves, if not with the whole, at least, with a considerable proportion thereof, and the residue might be furnished by our colonies: but, if we should not have wood lands sufficient to supply the half, and the art of manufacturing the same from the ore to the bar could be done with any species of our pit-coal alone, it would prove a very valuable discovery to this nation: and should not this have been effectually tried, before we had been so long obliged to take foreign iron; or before we made the attempt to transfer this manufacture wholly to our plantations; which in its consequences, may prove no less hurtful to Great Britain and Ireland than the importing of bar iron from Russia, Sweden, and Spain?

IN order to have had the possibility of making bar iron with pit-coal effectually tried: supposing the parliament had offered a public reward to have encouraged people to have been at the expence of making experiments of this nature; the discovery might probably have been made long before this time; for I do not remember to have heard
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any body to have demonstrated the impossibility thereof *à priori*. This is the way to bring to light the discovery of all practicable desiderata for the public interest ; and this in particular, (since such a discovery cannot be carried into execution in great works, without being known to every one) : because that a common patent, in a manufacture of this kind, is more liable to be invaded and violated, than some of a different nature, by others who would envy so great, and so lucrative a discovery.

BUT to resume our consideration on the plantations.

COLONIES ought never to forget what they owe to their mother country, in return for the prosperity and riches they enjoy. Their gratitude in that respect, and the duty they owe, indispensably oblige them to be immediately dependant on their original parent, and to make their interest subservient thereunto. The effect of that interest, and of that dependancy will be, to procure the mother country : (1) a greater consumption of the productions of her lands : (2) occupation for a greater number of the manufacturers, artizans, fishermen and seamen : (3) a greater quantity of such commodities as she wants : (4) a greater superfluity, wherewith to supply other people.

FROM the end of the establishment of colonies, result two kinds of prohibitions. First, It is a law founded on the very nature of colo-

colonies, that they ought to have no culture or arts, wherein to rival the arts and culture of their parent country. For which reason, a colony, incapable of producing any other commodities than those produced by it's mother country, would be more dangerous than useful: it would be proper to call home it's inhabitants and give it up.

SECONDLY, colonies cannot in justice consume foreign commodities, with an equivalent for which their mother country consents to supply them; nor sell to foreigners such of their own commodities as their mother country consents to receive. Every infringement of those laws is a real, though too common, robbery of the mother country's labourers, workmen and seamen, in order to enrich the same classes of men belonging to rival nations, who will sooner or later take advantage of it against those very colonies. Every police that winks at, or through indolence tolerates such abuses, or that leaves some ports the means of acting contrary to the first design and intent of the institution of colonies, is destructive of the trade and riches of a nation. The true bulwarks of colonies during war, are likewise the bulwarks of their trade in times of peace.

FROM these principles it follows, that colonies are designed for culture only; and that the navigation occasioned by that culture, belongs to the seamen of the mother country. This maxim cannot be contested; and it would

would be better to enforce it with rigour, than to suffer it to be too much deviated from by over great lenity, or any other means.

THOSE colonies require, in order to flourish, three kinds of navigation; which may be restrained as occasion requires, either by being limited to certain ports; or by limiting the quantity of goods shipped off.

THE first kind of navigation useful, and even necessary to colonies, is their coasting trade. It is productive of a greater communication between every part; and consequently of a greater rivalship either of buyers or of sellers, each of which is equally favourable to culture and commerce. It eases the ship's crews that arrive from Europe, and by degrees accustoms a nation to sail with fewer hands; but such a thing must be the fruit of time, freedom and encouragement.

THE second kind of navigation useful in colonies, is that which enables them to carry to each other the commodities of which they are in mutual want; and with which the mother country cannot supply them.

THAT navigation may, however, be performed more advantageously by the mother country's ships, if the interest of money be low enough there to fit out ships for long voyages at a moderate expence.

THE third branch of navigation useful in colonies, is that which they carry on with foreign colonies, to supply them only with com-

commodities of the product of their mother country, or of their own growth not admitted by their mother country at home, tho' allowed in the colonies for prudential reasons. If those exportations consist in other commodities; or if the returns for them do not consist in money, cattle, or commodities of which the mother country is in want, the freighters of the ship, as well as it's crew ought to be punished. It is always easy to make proper examples, whenever a state is seriously inclined to set about it.

THESE three branches of navigation seem to be the only ones that colonies should be permitted to carry on; and those under such restrictions and limitations as the circumstances of things require. It should likewise seem advantageous to oblige them to employ a certain number of slaves in their ships, in proportion to the tonnage of those ships; that the mother country may not lose sight too long of so great a number of seamen, and that the price of their wages may not be enhanced too much. Such a regulation would, at the same time, encrease the African trade, and the strength of the colonies, either for attacking or defending.

THE four chief ends intended by the establishment of colonies, can never be answered, but in proportion to their populousness and degree of cultivation.

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To provide with certainty for their populousness, it is necessary that the first settlement be made at the expence of the state. who founds the colony : that is to say, such state must furnish ships to carry the first inhabitants thither, and supply them with provisions, clothes, utensils, and slaves ; inheritances must be divided equally between the children, in order to fix there the greatest number possible of inhabitants by the subdivision of fortunes. It is likewise equally necessary, that the condition of the inhabitants be easy and comfortable, to make them amends for their labour and fidelity. For which reason, wise nations draw from their colonies, when once established, no more than what defrays the expence of forts and garrisons ; and sometimes are content with the general advantage of trade only.

It would be acting contrary to the very intent of colonies, to settle them by depopulating their mother country. Spain only has experienced that misfortune, because the greatest part of it's inhabitants had neither occupation nor ease at home : tho', as Sir Josiah Child very justly observes, the inquisition has contributed more to depopulate that monarchy, than all it's vast settlements in either Indies. Other nations have sent, from time to time, their superfluous hands, or such as were a burden to society, to their colonies. There is, however, a possibility of colonies being too populous : that would be the
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case if there was in them a number of idle men (for there should be none such in a colony) or a number of men of which the mother country should feel the want. There may, therefore, be circumstances, under which it would be proper to prevent the inhabitants of the mother country from going to settle whenever they pleased in the colonies in general, or in any one in particular. It would likewise be very proper in some cases, to send such as are willing to go, from one colony, where fortunes begin to grow rare, to another less advanced and flourishing.

It is not enough that a colony be so peopled as to be screened from insults; but it is farther necessary that the generality of the inhabitants should apply to the first intent of their settlement; that is to the culture of the lands: for if they turned interlopers and applied to that branch of trade only, as the profits attending it are always precarious, the establishment would acquire a less degree of solidity; and even, if the profits were equal on the whole, the mother country would still be a loser in the occupation of her subjects: for gold, silver, and precious stones do not occasion a great navigation between the mother country and her colonies, nor between her and other nations; whereas the like value in sugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, tobacco, silk, rice, pitch, tar and furs, commodities whereof part is re-exported,

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ported, will maintain a vast number of seamen, shipwrights, &c.

COLONIES, as we have already said, are intended for cultivation; for which reason those of the inhabitants, who apply to it ought to be most distinguished, because they are most useful. It is likewise just, that they should enjoy in their mother country, some prerogative; which by encouraging should invite them thither from time to time, and facilitate marriages and alliances with them, in order to perpetuate the common bonds of union.

THE main spring of that culture is trade; and the activity of trade depends on the competition or rivalship of merchants. Their ambition will always afford the planter greater assistance, and will make his productions bear a higher price, than would any exclusive company: which, by being exclusive, would be able to command the prices of whatever was bought or sold, and the conditions of payment; not to speak of the odious tricks and vexations practised by the clerks and servants of such companies, without the knowledge of their masters. No plantation colony ever yet did, nor ever will thrive under such management.

P L E N T Y of consumption is the only means of rendering culture profitable; from it's profits arises rivalship of cultivators; from that rivalship, lowness of price of a commodity; and from the lowness of price of a
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commodity, proceeds superiority in that branch of trade.

To procure a plentiful consumption of the productions of a colony, even when dear, the mother country forbids the importation of foreign commodities of the same kind, in order to prevent the rivalship that would result from them. The best method that can be taken to establish that equilibrium, is to grant on the importation of those commodities of the growth of the colonies, such a bounty as may enable the merchants to sell them cheaper than other nations can.

A MORE natural way should seem to be, to prohibit the use of such foreign commodities, or to raise the duties on them in proportion : but two great inconveniencies attend that method : first, it is not sure of succeeding ; men will be tempted to smuggle whenever the profit surpasses the risk ; and that risk consists less in the punishment, than in the means of eluding all perquisitions : Secondly, that method may be displeasing to foreign nations and afford them a pretence either to prohibit, or at least to raise on their side, the duties on the commodities of the mother country.

NATIONS who understand trade are, therefore, satisfied with granting a bounty till the commodity can do without it. Bounties are in fact no more than a subdivision made among the subjects, of a part of the profits,

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profits, which the state receives from the daily encrease of their riches.

FROM this evident maxim, and those we before laid down, follows the necessity of prohibiting in a colony the importation of all commodities of foreign growth, which either that colony, or any others belonging to the mother country, may have undertaken to raise. It is plain that it would be discouraging the inhabitants to carry them cheap cargoes of a commodity, which they themselves are raising at a great expence.

THE views of the mother country ought to extend beyond her own consumption: her assistance is indispensably necessary, until the foreign consumption be thoroughly established. That must be by obtaining the preference of foreigners, who, to give that preference, must find their account in the cheapness of the commodity.

IT is, therefore, always on the prices of rival nations that the bounties, or duties whenever the commodity is able to bear any, ought to be regulated,

IT's lowness of price will likewise depend on the cheapness of negroes, freight, and interest of money; all which are the effects of the rivalry of merchants; and likewise on the not less essential rivalry of sellers. For it is the price of the returns of the colonies, which constitutes the profits of those who trade thither. Foreigners, to whom the mother country re-exports the

commodities of her colonies, look on them as superfluities, and are not easily induced to give an additional value for them: or, to speak more properly, it is the consumer of an article of luxury who give it it's price. If the encrease of price of commodities in colonies, be a consequence of the common revolutions of trade, of scarcity, or of plenty, it can be of no long duration; the equilibrium will soon return of it's own accord. But if that encrease should proceed from want of rivalship in the sellers; or, which would have the same effect, from a rivalship of contraband buyers or interlopers, a cessation of trade, and the ruin of the merchants would be the inevitable consequence.

It absolutely follows, that tolls, servitudes, and all regulations tending to promote exclusions of any kind in a colony, must hurt the culture of that colony, and consequently the riches of the mother country. Small inconveniencies, at first neglected, and thereby multiplied, have often brought on the unexpected ruin of once very flourishing branches of trade. In proportion as the price of a commodity rises to a certain degree, the profit tempts other nations, or enables them to compete in what they before did not dare to hazard. Their rivalship lessens the price insensibly; that diminution of price is sometimes on a sudden such, that the people, with whom the price of labour is dearest, are unable to bear it, and therefore renounces that
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branch of trade, of which it's rivals possess themselves for ever.

FROM this truth, of which all that have any knowledge of men and past events cannot but be sensible, must be inferred, that whatever tends to lessen the price at which the commodities of a colony can be afforded to foreigners, encreases the consumption of those commodities, discourages rival nations, and multiplies every day the riches and branches of occupation of the mother country who sells cheapest.

THIS reason may even render necessary some abuses, if they are of long standing. The Europeans certainly committed a great fault in suffering sugar to be refined in the colonies where it grows. The English, has been justly charged with setting an example of several wrong steps taken with regard to colonies : that is one : for they were the first who began to refine sugars at St. Christophers. If France had then forbid her colonies doing the same, and had granted bounties or exemptions from duties to make them amends ; she would not the less enjoy now a superiority in the sugar trade, and would constantly have employed in that branch of navigation a third more than she has done of ships and sailors, not to speak of other advantages, which she would have thereby obtained. It would be imprudent now to stop the progress of those sugar works, until the lowness of freight and diminution of duties compensate

for the difference ; for men cannot, without being discouraged, bear to be deprived of a profit they have been used to, and which is thereby become necessary to them. It is true, that it is always in the power of a state, by raising or lowering the duties, to establish, either an equilibrium or a preference in it's own commodities, without having recourse to prohibitions or coercive means.

THE progress of natural history, and of cheap experiments, are very fit to improve the culture of colonies, and thereby to increase their utility. It would be wrong in any body to imagine he has at once hit upon the best method either of cultivating his lands, or preparing their productions. The first inhabitants of colonies have seldom been great naturalists, and their successors have been content to grow rich by following the methods practised by their ancestors. It is likewise probable, that the properties of all those lands are not known, and that it would not be impossible to multiply their species of productions. The same latitude, and same climate should give one great room to expect the same kinds and qualities of earth, and to be able to procure several commodities, which some countries only are thought to produce ; if proper care was but taken to try experiments. What a fund of riches would that nation possess, who should be able to draw from her colonies cochineal, spices, potash, hemp, flax, silk, and what else it might
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stand in need of for it's manufactures in particular.

LASTLY, it is necessary to observe, that the culture of the colonies will become more and more precious, in proportion to the increase of ingenious labour in the several parts of Europe. Workmen and sailors will find no chasm in their several occupations, if the inhabitants of the colonies, enriched by the culture of them, are enabled to consume more. Those workmen and sailors will receive their hire in commodities, of which the value will be paid by foreigners. That, and the national culture together, will, by degrees, become the sole measure of the balance of trade.

HITHERTO we have spoken only of the culture of colonies, and the preference that culture is intitled to as being the first intent of the establishment of colonies; and because, without it, their second intent, trade, could not take effect.

BUT it ought never to be forgotten, even for a moment, that in seeking to fulfil this first intent, the second was the chief, and most essential thing in view; and that without the second, the first could never have attained perfection. For without trade, the commodities would have had no value; nor would the lands have been cultivated for want of slaves and credit.

Two consequences result from this truth.

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FIRST, if the original laws made to promote the cultivation of a colony are become detrimental to trade, it is necessary to alter or correct them, by some new regulation, whereby the abuse may be prevented. For it is of importance to a mother country, that the trade of her colonies be advantageous to her; and that it cannot be, if those who carry it on are not secure in it.

DISPUTES in trade are of the same nature in the colonies, with those which arise in the mother country: the interests of trade cannot be supported in any place whatever, without a thorough knowledge of the particular details relating to it, and the practical ways and means of carrying the same on. For which reason, consuls in the trading towns of those colonies, and representatives of those towns in their mother country, are a very proper means of establishing the necessary equilibrium between their culture and their trade.

A SECOND consequence is, that this perfect equilibrium is equally necessary for the preservation of culture and of trade. The culture could not, without ingratitude, disown the endeavour of trade to add to it's perfection: nor could, without the continuance of that same trade, be able to support itself. On the other hand, trade owes the greatest part of it's riches to culture, and stands in need of it, in order likewise to preserve itself. The planter

planter and merchant in the colonies, cannot be too thoroughly convinced, that their mutual success depends on their harmony. Whatever hurts trade, is, in the end, destructive of culture; though the latter may have seemed to be a gainer for some short time: if the culture be prejudiced, trade must insensibly share it's losses.



DISSERTATION VII.

Of such productions, manufactures, and trades, as England, Scotland, Ireland, and the British plantations should chiefly cultivate; in order to rival and compete with foreign nations, and not with each other; and some measures necessary to be taken for the prosperity of the commerce and navigation of all.

BY breaking up and cultivating the quantity of land in England, which has been considered in the course of these dissertations, she can never stand in need of grain of any kind, either for home-consumption, or foreign exportation; if public granaries should be established, and properly regulated, as has been recommended, in consequence of what we have urged. A steady pursuit of the same measures with regard to pasture will likewise amply supply this part of the kingdom, with cattle of every species requisite for the support and maintenance of the people, according to their natural encrease; which must ensue from the enjoyment of that general plenty amongst them, which we shall endeavour to promote; the like practices being duly regarded

garded in Scotland and Ireland, as well as the British colonies, will not only furnish the inhabitants of those several parts of the British empire with all the necessaries of life as plentifully, and as cheaply as can be desired for their own use, but for sale to such states as may occasionally want them.

THE three kingdoms, and her plantations being thus capable of supplying themselves with all things absolutely necessary from their respective lands, they will not stand in need of the assistance of each other in this respect; England will have as little occasion for the Scotch or Irish cattle, as those countries will have for her grain; and which of the three shall enjoy the greatest plenty, and be able to afford to sell the cheapest, will gain the advantage of selling their productions to foreign states. The British northern plantations would also enjoy a share in the supply, not only in our own island colonies, but occasionally of foreign countries; but that should be done upon those principles of national policy, which we have before urged, in relation to the strict subserviency of colonies to their parent state.

IT will be next necessary to consider what other essentials this kingdom stands in need of, wherewith she may be furnished by the proposed land-improvements. And the first I shall take notice of is the article of timber, which has been frequently recommended to little purpose: and certainly is of no small importance

importance to the trade and navigation of this kingdom to render timber so plentiful, that we may, in conjunction with the other advantages we would labour to obtain, be enabled to build our ships as cheap as they are remarkably good; that no nation may be able to sail for less freights than the English: if this be sufficiently done, and labour rendered as cheap as has been observed, ships may be built for a third less than they at present are. Will not this occasion the building of numbers more than is now done; employ abundance of more people in variety of trades, besides encreasing our navigating-carriage, as well for the account of foreigners as of ourselves? As the wealth of this nation so greatly depends on its maritime affairs, does not also its chief strength on its royal navy? If timber be made very plentiful, and labour cheap, may not a man of war be built proportionably cheaper than at present? Would it not prove greatly to the benefit of the kingdom, if we could raise double the degree of naval strength we have, and man and fit the same for sea for the same expence we are now at for that purpose? That we may be able to effect this is certain, if our land-improvements are carried to the length they will so easily admit of.

It is something very strange, methinks, that gentlemen should be backward and supine with respect to their own advantage, and that of their families, by neglecting to plant timber.

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timber. But so it is, that even laws to oblige them so to do, have proved ineffectual. Does this proceed from the rise of rents of late years; or to an unnatural and unjustifiable neglect of posterity, as timber-planting regards them more than ourselves? Will not this unaccountable behaviour in our gentry, together with the devouring iron furnaces, render the kingdom incapable of supplying itself with timber sufficient for the fleets of England? When gentlemen are distressed for money by the non-payment of rents, or from other causes, then we find the felling of what timber we have goes forwards; and, for a spirt, shall make timber reasonable; but it is scarce and dear in the general with us; and we are too much supplied from other nations: which is certainly impolitic, when we have no occasion for their aid. If our laws to enforce the planting of timber are deficient, let them be made effectual, and be effectually executed.

ALL lands that are infertile, or not so fit for cultivation; also waste lands, as far as practicable, should be well planted with timber. Hedge timber, we know, is generally the strongest, though not so streight as that in woods: and its growth in hedges is also much quicker: and if waste lands were properly managed and planted, they might be made to afford sufficient timber of quick growth for our naval as well as other building purposes. If we neglect this policy, we must be content, not only to see the ships
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of other nations the principal carriers of the world, but to employ many ships ourselves, which are not built in this kingdom. When we might be capable of amply supplying ourselves with all the timber we stand in need of for home building likewise, is it not extraordinary that we should import such immense quantities from Norway, and Sweden, at the expence too of our current specie, and the encrease of the navigation of other potentates; the Danes and Swedes bringing their timber in their own large ships built for that purpose?

BUT if neither England, Scotland, nor Ireland should ever, even by their conjoined aid, be brought to afford us timber sufficient for our maritime, as well as every other occasion; yet it is not to be doubted but our plantations will; for we may import what we cannot raise in the three kingdoms, from New England, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, if proper care is there taken for that purpose. And then here should be always provided and laid ready in proper places great quantities of timber; and care should be taken that bulky ships should be built and loaded therewith in a few days.

BUT even our heath-ground in England would do well for timber-plantations, as Mr. Bradley observes: though it may be difficult to inclose, yet, to overcome such difficulty, it might be eligible, perhaps, to summon the poor of the parish, who have
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chiefly the right of commoning, and parcel out such lands in as many lots as there are persons, who can justly claim a right to it; and then the choice amongst them, of the respective parcels of land to be made by balloting; or else let them chuse according to their seniority, or the length of time that each of them, or their families, have been inhabitants of the parish. By this means every one of these poor people would find matter of employment, and become possessors of land, which they might justly call their own, and thereby have encouragement to cultivate and improve it; these people still remaining tributary to the lord of the manor, in proportion to the value of such lands as they hold, and to be obliged also to plant a certain number of such trees of timber as the land will best nourish. Hereby many of the poor, which, at present, are a dead weight on parishes, may be rendered useful to the public, and live in a contented state, enjoying every man his own right, without encroachment from his neighbours, or being subject, as the commoners now are, to have the benefit run only in a few hands; while, perhaps, those who have the greatest right have hardly pasture enough for six sheep, when others find subsistence for two or three hundred. Our heath-lands in England, which at present scarcely yield food enough for sheep, and are of no other use, might be cultivated for the propagating of fir-trees, which
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are of quick growth, useful, and agree well with such a soil.

ANOTHER way, which might tend to the improvement of timber, would be by obliging every tenant, at the renewing of his lease, to plant certain number of trees at his own expence. Where any considerable plantation happens to be made, a stone might be set up, with an inscription, denoting the year, the season, and by whom planted, that it might be an instruction to posterity how long such trees had been growing, to produce the sum they might be then sold for, and inform the successor of the person's name, who had so wisely the foresight to provide for him.

CHALKY soils will be productive of good timber; such as we observe, for the most part, on Salisbury-plain, and the waste grounds about Newmarket; and it is strange, considering the scarcity of timber, and even fire-wood in those countries, that no body has yet begun planting thereabouts; especially since we have so many instances of hills and lands of the same kind of chalk in Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, &c. which are covered with trees, as well for timber as fire-wood. We there find the beech is natural to that kind of soil; and in some places the English chesnut thrives pretty well, and the oak indifferently; but the walnut rejoices in that soil, if it has any tolerable shelter.

THE balance we pay in money to Norway and Sweden for timber, iron, &c. over and above what they take from us, is not less than 350,000 l. per annum; which is an outgoing well deserves our consideration.

So egregiously neglectful have we been in the article of wood-planting, that we are quite unacquainted with any species of woods that would grow in our climate, except such as have grown, as it were, wildely and spontaneously. Do not those soils that will produce in plenty the oak and the walnut-tree, promise fair to afford various other strong and beautiful woods for an infinite variety of uses? Are we yet well instructed in the divers kinds of woods that our lands would afford for the art of dying? Though the time of growth required for those hard colourable woods, in our climate, may be longer than in some others; that should no more discourage their plantation than those of oak. It would be little expence to gentlemen to try experiments for the raising of fine woods: success would amply recompence their attention. All high-coloured woods being more durable, as well as more beautiful than fir, they would become much used in the inside work of all housebuilding, and in various species of cabinet and other mechanical works; and therefore would prove very lucrative in cultivating by our gentry.

I HAVE often viewed our desolate forests, and barren plains, with an eye of concern, considering

sidering how much we were, at the same time, beholden to distant nations for those commodities, which might with care be cultivated in our own country; and which might turn to considerable private as well as public benefit. Experience has shewn, that there is no ground of a soil so barren, but it may, by mixing with other soils, and by skilful and industrious management with proper manures, be made to produce all sorts of grain, and seeds, as well as all sorts of plants and trees, which are necessary for the use of man, according to the several climates wherein they live. And, therefore, we have found it very practicable to raise flax and hemp in Great Britain and Ireland; and certainly those articles are capable of far greater improvement than they have hitherto arrived at in this kingdom. But whatever we are deficient in may be supplied by our plantations; and, therefore, it is unpardonable in a nation to want those things that are so essential, when they may raise them within themselves; especially so, when the article of hemp, flax, linen, thread, lace, cambrics, lawns, linen from Russia, Silesia, Switzerland, Hamburgh, and Bremen, do not cost the nation so little as a million and a half a year, notwithstanding our domestic improvements in the linen manufactures in Ireland and Scotland. These things have been often recommended by the public spirited: and when when so little regard has been had thereto, in comparison to what there ought to have been;

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been; when our debts and incumbrances make it so necessary; when the rivalship of other states in trade are daily encroaching on us; and when wars make it necessary to save every national out-going expence that we can: is it not unaccountable, that we should overlook any advantage within our reach?

WHATEVER materials for our capital manufactures we shall not be capable of raising amongst ourselves, we may easily do by wise encouragement in our plantations; and this would restrain them to their plantation business, and prevent their engaging in manufactures to interfere with their mother-state. To promote planting more amongst them, and manufacturing less, why should we not encourage to the utmost the planting of tea, coffee, and cacao-trees, as well as logwood, and every other specie of dying-woods, or others that can be worked up to advantage? Will not our colonies produce cochineal and indigo to as great perfection as those of France and Spain? These essential articles, together with what have been before intimated, would greatly add to the circulation of the trade and navigation of Great Britain between her and her colonies, independent of all other states; and this independency cannot be too much cultivated; for the more we shall be able to deal and thrive within our own dominions, the less occasion shall we have to submit to other states.

ALTHOUGH we have not yet proved so successful in the production of silk in Georgia

as could be wished and desired ; yet it is to be hoped that a matter of this concernment will not be given up, but pursued vigorously till the great end shall be happily accomplished. Let the example of France animate and inspire us. They laboured under no less difficulties and discouragements than we do in this respect : and if they have carried their point, will it not be shamefully impolitic to despair, which is the child of ignorance? On the contrary, since we are convinced, that the state, which shall obtain the commercial dominion, will obtain the like by the sword ; we must either resolutely and zealously pursue the commercial prize, or submit to bondage by the enemy. Why should we be dismayed, when the natural advantages of both states being compared, they seem to lie in our favour ? France yields great quantities of corn, but our harvests are generally more certain, and do not miscarry so often as theirs. They raise great quantities of hemp and flax for their manufactures : and although we do not raise a sufficiency in Britain and Ireland for the like purpose, we may raise as much as we please in our American colonies ; whereof we have land as good as any, and far cheaper than it is in France. Do not our colonies also abound with mulberry-trees ? We want nothing but industry and effective policy to raise within ourselves silk competent to carry on that estimable manufacture. The importation of China silk has greatly helped this manufacture. France

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has iron and copper ore ; so have we in far greater quantities, both at home and in our colonies ; and in the latter we can work it to greater profit than they can. They have wines and brandy, which afford them a very considerable annual advantage from various countries : and as the woods in our colonies abound with wild vines, why should they not, if duly cultivated, in Carolina or Georgia, produce wines no less delicate than those in any part of Europe ? But it would be no great difficulty to supply ourselves with wines in another manner. Nor are our colonies less capable of yielding oil, raisins, figs, currants. The French have salt : and have we not salt-springs, sufficient to serve, not only ourselves, but even to export ; especially so, if our water-carriage was properly improved. France has, indeed, wool of its own ; but of such a quality, that it will not serve to make their manufactures for that general exportation without a due mixture of ours ; which, from the measures laid down in this tract, we seem capable of effectually preventing, and securing the manufacturing of all our own wool wholly to ourselves. England abounds in the valuable articles of tin, lead, coals, and leather, for exportation ; of which France is deprived, and purchases from us. We have quantities of excellent oak for ship-building, and may greatly improve the quantity ; but France is herein deficient : nor have they a sufficient store of

flesh for victualling their shipping ; in which Great Britain and Ireland generally abound, so as to sell to them, and to other countries. England had formerly a very beneficial trade by the re-exportation of our sugars to foreign markets ; but the French, by enlarging their sugar plantations, and their better management, have so much underfold us of late years, that they have in a manner beat us out of that trade ; which yet we might recover, when we shall be able to sell them as cheap as they can do at foreign markets : and the natural ways and means to do that we have shewn to be in our own power. If Martinico has suffered so greatly by the late hurricane as is now reported, this accident attending our rivals, may contribute to reinstate us in this trade, if we improve the occasion. The carrying of our plantation produce directly from our colonies to foreign countries, was a deviation from the act of navigation, in order to render those productions the cheaper : but this measure has its bad consequences to the mother countries, as well as good ones to the colonies. If we shall be once capable of reducing the price of every thing as proposed, the necessity of this toleration will, perhaps, cease. Our African trade has proved no less beneficial to the plantations, than to Great Britain ; and by some measures, that I may one day have the honour to lay before the administration, that branch of trade may

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be rendered far more lucrative and important to the kingdom than it ever has been.

THESE considerations enable us to make a judgment, how far this nation may be said to be independent, in point of trade, from the rest of the world. The quantity of shipping and water-craft of every kind, employed in our home-coasting trade round our islands, as well as the shipping employed to and from Great Britain, and Ireland to our American colonies, and our African settlements, and the quantity also employed by our colonies among themselves: these points well weighed, our seamen hereby bred, and the tunnage of shipping hereby created, would, perhaps, entitle us to the character of a maritime power, although we had no commerce with other nations. But,

If we had no commerce with other nations, and our neighbouring potentates had, and we only carried on our commerce with our own territories, they would encrease in wealth and power, while we should be at a stand, as it were, in comparison to them. Were we reduced to this state, how long could we maintain ourselves an independent people? Was it not the advancement of the commerce of this nation, that enabled us, in the days of Elizabeth, to oppose the chains of slavery then forged for us in Spain? Is not trade the only means left us, whereby we can protect ourselves from that slavery, wherewith we are at present threatened?

Where trade is, there will be employment; where employment is, thither will useful people resort; and where property is secured, there the wealthy will settle to enjoy it.

THE convenient situation of any estate adds to its value and purchase; without convenience, life itself would be but an insipid spiration, not worth enjoying. England certainly deserves to be valued, and preferred to all nations, having both to so great advantage. It is an island placed as a center to the circular globe, towards which, commerce may draw a line from the whole circumference; it is blessed with a moderation of every element; no scorching sun negroes, nor frigid zone benumbs its natives; a medium influence strengthens and beautifies its inhabitants, rendering them, neither of the unweildy or pigmy race, but fit to endure the toils of labour. So temperate is our climate, that the sun neither exhales, nor does the cold phlegmatic the spirituous parts, which creates the medium temperature; our imagination being neither too airy for deep contemplation, nor too dull for invention. Its soil is mixture and productive; and where sterility appears on the surface, the bowels are enriched with valuable minerals, and fossils.

AGREEABLE variety of hills and dales compass the land. When the parching sun chaps the highlands, the meadows thrive with verdure; when mighty showers drown the vales, the hills grow fruitful by moderate humidity;

humidity; our lands, by tillage, afford a grateful plenty; our trees are lofty and well topped; our oaks so firmly rib our ships, that our royal navy, if duly supported, by the effects of a prosperous commerce, may ever prove an invincible bulwark; our fruits are salubrious, our cattle large, healthy, and numerous, none in the world better for sustenance; their skins are firm, and so contracted their pores, that better leather is no where to be met with. Our wool being remarkably good, is the parent of our great staple, and gives a plaudit to our manufactures throughout the universe. We have fowl in great variety and good. The land is plentifully veined with rivers, refreshing the earth, and affording variety and plenty of fish: the nation is a verdure-field indented with harbours around it, where our ships, from their natural situation, may ride out the tempestuous storm. The sea is as a wall, which surrounds us, defending us from the Pharaoh that would enslave. It is wonderful to behold the immense quantity of divers sorts of fish that periodically visit our coasts to administer sustenance, when the land fails, and afford merchandize to enrich the nation. How has heaven blessed us, by causing the winds to blow westerly for above half the year? These make our Cape lands and bays, opposite to the French and Dutch coasts, good roads for our ships to ride with security: we have an advantage over the French, by being on the weather, they

on the lee-shore: our anchor-hold also is much better than either that of the French, or the Dutch, we having a stiff clay, chalk, or hard gravel, while the French have hard rocks, or loose sand, the Hollanders and Flemish more numerous sands on their coasts, their waters of less depth, and their ports choaked with quick-sands; when our ships ride safe, even between our sands, by our country's being a weather shore. Where is the nation more happily situated for universal commerce? If we do not maintain our own independency of empire, and preserve the liberties of christendom, how can we answer for our ingratitude to our country, on which nature has so liberally bestowed her benefactions?

WE have seen, from the first and second dissertations, by what means we may preserve our wool from being smuggled to France, and how we may be enabled to sell our woollen fabrics as cheap to foreigners as the French, or any other nation can do theirs. Though this is the fundamental and primary principle that we ought to aim at, yet this alone will not extend and propagate our commerce abroad, and enable us to maintain a competitorship against France, and other rising commercial states: we must not less study the art of pleasing foreigners than that of cheapness; for if our manufactural artists do not fall in with the taste of other nations, and hit them as well as our rivals, our being upon
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a parity with them in point of cheapness solely, will not augment the vent of our commodities; ours may still lay upon our hands, while those of our competitors shall be in great demand, unless we are also upon an equality with them, in regard to fashion and quality as well as the delicacy of our colours. By what measures this may be obtained comes next under consideration.

THE usual method, whereby our manufacturers come at a knowledge of these things, is through our merchants, whose correspondents in other countries send them over patterns of such fabrics as are in vogue: but they who in general have been the first inventors of the new manufacture, will always have the first of the market; and when the run for such goods is quite or near over, then Mr. Englishman, perhaps, steps in for a small share, while Monsieur, or Mynherr, has been beforehand with him, and reaped his harvest before the other has began to sow: a general commodity shall, as it were, be in and out of fashion frequently before it comes to our knowledge, or not till the markets are glutted, the fair over, and our goods become a drug. By this succession of new fashions, the French anticipate the English in their trade; foreigners are first captivated with their goods, the warehouses of the French factors are full and empty before the English factors can be provided with the fashionable fabric of the day: so that if we could afford

to sell our manufactures as cheap as the French do theirs, unless we are equally happy in the arts of engaging the fancy of foreign nations, France, from this cause alone, will bear away the trade, and establish and extend her mercantile factories, every where to our detriment; they having the start of us generally in this essential point.

AND here, we say, the plain question lies, how England shall put herself upon a level with France in this respect also? The answer is obvious: follow the example of France herein, as near as we can. *Fas est, et ab hoste doceri.* If the inventive talent of the French fabricators are more fertile, than those of the English; if they are more delicate and refined, or more artful and politic in striking in with the foible, and prevailing passions of foreign countries, than the English; does it not well become the wisdom of this nation to exert themselves herein, and by proper policy supply the defects, under which their artists and manufacturers may naturally labour? But long experience has shown, that our workmen neither want genius nor industry to equal, if not to excel those of any other nations; and what proves this beyond all doubt is, that they have made greater advance in the manufactural and mechanical arts, with less public encouragement, than those of any other country. May we, therefore, not reasonably enough suppose, that if we should resolve to take all
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such measures as the nature of the case seems to require, our artists would prove no less successful in their arts of pleasing the taste of foreigners than our rivals are? To this end, is it not necessary, indispensably necessary, to encourage every establishment that hath a tendency to the improvement of arts, trades, and manufactures?

WE are happy enough, indeed, to have such a society lately spontaneously sprung up in London; but this is but in its infancy; it has been hitherto promoted only by the private benefactions of a few public spirited gentry. The essential improvement of our arts, trade, and manufactures, have been left as it were, wholly to our artists and manufacturers themselves, and the voluntary aid given them by generous philosophic spirits, in the course of their emulous labours: nay, till we long experienced the rivalry of other nations therein, too many were weak, or vain enough to think that we had arrived to the ultimate perfection. Though we have seen such-like public establishments take place in many foreign countries; though England has experienced the progress that Ireland and Scotland have made, in their manufactures, by these means; yet she has always slighted them, till very lately: but trade, like states and empires, will ever stand in need of the same means to preserve it, that first raised it. Nor have any steps been taken to promote and advance our trade
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but what have been first set on foot by private persons, who have delighted in studies beneficial to the kingdom, and communicated their discoveries for the general advantage. To the Royal Society of London this nation has been unspeakably indebted upon this occasion; and, indeed, almost every state in Europe; most of them having followed our example in this respect, and established philosophical societies for the improvement of sciences, and the commercial arts.

BUT those learned associations do not come up to the peculiar point to which I am, at present, speaking of; we have no kind of public institution for the ordering, directing, and regulating of the fashions that our artists and manufacturers ought to pursue in their various fabrications, in order to render them the more acceptable to the taste of other countries, suitable to their climate, habit, and custom of the people in general, and the nature and constitution of the government; for all these have more or less influence on their manner of clothing, as well as in their furniture, and their very diet and entertainments: and, therefore, a commercial state cannot give too great attention to the customs and prevailing passions of foreign countries, if they would render their commodities the more universally acceptable. As we would not send the same apparel to the frigid as to the torrid zone; so neither is it good policy to send always one and the same sort of goods, where
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they have a taste for a continual variety; and where that trading state, who supplied the greatest variety was certain to obtain the greatest share in the trade. But how is this to be done, we have asked? It will hardly be thought sufficient to answer in the general: pursue the like measures that France have done. It may be expected, that we should particularize some measures, if only to provoke and excite others to mend them. This we shall endeavour to do with all brevity: (1) Let the before mentioned society, already established, for the improvement of arts, and manufactures, or any other public spirited body, be properly incorporated, and duly supported by parliament, for this, and all the other purposes, of the private improvement of the useful commercial arts. (2) Let this society be authorized to maintain a constant correspondents with our consuls, and British factories abroad, or with other merchants in foreign countries, in order to have their opinion duly from time to time of any species of goods that may be wrought up or manufactured in England, that may fall in with the humour of the people, and bid fair to be generally acceptable in those countries; what objection the people are observed to make against any of our commodities, and their opinions how these objections may be removed; what other nations interfere with us in any of our staple, or other manufactures, and how much cheaper they can afford to sell their goods than

than we can of a quality no way inferior to ours : in fine, what difficulties and discouragements our trade may, in any respect, labour under in foreign countries, either by deviations from our treaties of commerce, or by the oppressions of the officers of the revenue ; whether any other nations are more favoured in their commerce and navigation than we are, who have no peculiar right by treaty so to be ; and how, and by what means every kind of grievance on our trade in foreign states may be redressed. (3) That the society obtains as early intelligence as possible of the new fabrics of every commercial art that is practising in other states for the advancement of their trade ; and that they have sent them patterns, and samples of every species of their chief manufactures, or of any of their mechanical productions that are observed to have a vent in other countries. (4) That all such patterns and samples, together with the prices, for which such goods are sold, be properly ranged and disposed, in the society's repository ; that all manufacturers, and artists shall have unrestrained access to them, and inspect them so as to be able to imitate them, if prudent. (5) That the society shall, from time to time recommend such fabrics, and productions of art to the imitation of our manufacturers and artizans, as may be judged to come into vogue ; in order to enable this nation constantly to vye with others in any species of commodities that we shall be capable of

of making or producing. (6) That the society shall be enabled to promote and encourage any kind of institution that may prove subordinately conducive to the promotion of the great end of their own establishment; such as the institution of academies for cultivating the arts of design, painting, sculpture, and the like. (7) That the said society shall annually lay whatever they judge proper before the parliament; with their sentiments on the measures that may be necessary to encourage certain new branches of trade; what old branches are declining, and from what causes, with respect to the arts of workmanship, and the prices; with their opinion what may be requisite to be done to preserve these trades from the ruin wherewith they may be threatened, so far as shall be within the province of this society. (8) That this society shall cause to be taken and preserved a minute record of the present state of the arts and trades of all nations, and continue the constant history of their variation; whereby they may be able to judge what parts of new foreign trades we may be able to adopt, as any of the old shall decay. (9) That the society shall be open to receive all information from artists and manufacturers of any deficiencies under which they may labour in their respective arts and trades, and communicate all desiderata wherein it would prove for the national advantage for them to be informed in; to the end that
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the society might be enabled to offer proper public rewards and encouragements to have all such discoveries made by the learned and speculative, that cannot be accomplished by the mere practical artists, and by that means to bring all our commercial arts and manufactures to the utmost perfection; and afterwards to establish them in the kingdom by such parliamentary encouragement as the nature thereof shall require. (10) That all persons of learning or ingenuity, as well as all artificers and manufacturers, who shall make any new and important discoveries for the advancement of trade, shall be invited by the society to lay them before them for their consideration; promising, that they shall meet with all encouragement suitable to the merit of their discoveries.

By such like means all new inventions and theories would be brought to the touchstone; and their validity or insufficiency discovered; and when found just and solid by such a society, they would be confirmed and stamped with a character that would render them universally current, and fit to be carried into public practice.

Thus when any attempt is made to settle a new trade, or any discovery or invention made for the improvement of an old one; before the least attempt is made to apply the same in real business, the proper assay or experiment must be performed in miniature; which proving successful, upon repeated trial and examination,

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amination, with due variation of circumstances, may then encourage the application, or advancement of the discovery into an art.

IN order to judge of the general utility of any discovery, the society, who shall be constituted the inquisitors, should strictly examine into the expence thereof; for although it may be very ingenious and very important, yet if it comes too dear to be practised in any branch of trade, it may be useless. The society, indeed, should act herein so as not to discourage any invention; for although, on the first trials, it may prove too expensive for general practice, yet future experiments may render it otherwise; which has proved the case of many important discoveries.



DISSERTATION VIII.

The same subject as the last continued in another light.

AS a society for the improvement of arts, trades, and manufactures is already commenced, we may reasonably hope for its continuance and success; and if it should once become constituted of a large and weighty body of persons of distinction, and supported by the public purse, as well as private donations, we may suppose, that it will consist of many gentlemen happily turned for science; many, who are as well disposed to read and think as to act for the public interest and happiness; and such will be daily enquiring into the disiderata of artists of all kinds: nor will they search for these only from the books and theories of the philosophic class, but they will have opportunities to be informed therein by the artists themselves, from the access which they will be permitted to have with the society; and every one else will be ready and willing to communicate whatever may thus contribute to the public benefit: whereby a register may
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be kept of whatever discoveries shall, from time to time, be requisite to be made for the advancement of our mechanical and manufactural arts, and others wherein our commercial interests depend.

THUS nothing that our soil and climate will admit of; nothing that the arts of husbandry and agriculture can produce in the kingdom to profit, will be left unthought of, or untried in miniature; and then we need not fear but it would be duly carried into execution in grand; for this body being the happy medium between the parliament and private people, nothing that really merits the public attention will pass unnoticed; or go unencouraged for want of being either properly and faithfully laid before the legislature, or effectually supported and carried through, without any expence and fatigue to the artists. For, when once the society is thoroughly convinced of the public utility and emolument of any discovery, or any national proposal, they will undertake all the rest for the interest and honour of the kingdom, and exonerate private people from those expensive discouragements that intimidate their application, and stagnate their ingenuity.

UNSPEAKABLY beneficial to the nation must be the consequences of such an institution. For when the working practical artists are certain of having their inventions brought to light, and set in a public point of view,

and themselves publicly rewarded for their industry and ingenuity: when the learned philosopher is sure that his labours in the public service shall not be slighted, nor himself pass unrecompensed or unhonoured, how will the human mind be agitated to glory? What an emulous spirit will not this raise throughout the kingdom among the thinking and active part of mankind? Every artificer, every manufacturer, every man of business will strive to excel in his trading capacity, when he knows that his name shall be recorded with honour in the annals of this immortal society? For it might prove not the least encouragement to have a list yearly published of the names of those, who have been instrumental to make any useful improvements in their respective arts or trades; with an account of the honour, and of the reward annexed, to which they have been entitled. How many genius's may not these measures bring upon the open stage of action, that are now eclipsed behind the curtain in low obscurity; and how much more profitable to the community may the talents of numbers be rendered than they are at present?

WHEN this society shall be enabled by the public to propose encouragements to all who shall make any useful, and important discoveries in their several arts and trades; what numberless improvements would not gradually arise from the working people themselves, that could not otherwise fall within
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the cognizance of the society, or of philosophers? When the society shall invite all artists to transmit such difficulties to them that they cannot overcome themselves, and they shall properly propose them to the public attention, may we not expect that the philosopher will perfect many things that the working artist could never of himself be able to do? Thus uniting the philosopher's head with the mechanic's and manufacturer's hands, what advancement, in the commercial arts, may we not hope for? Will not the effectual rise of a spirit of this kind amongst the people so raise our commerce and navigation, as to enable us to beat the French in trade? And will not that prove a more effectual way to keep them impotent and humble, than depending too much upon war only to do it?

LET Great Britain but add sound commercial policy to her natural benefits and advantages, she may preserve and maintain her independency, as a free state, without being eternally liable to be embroiled in wars. For superiority of trade and commerce, necessarily producing superiority of wealth and power, her enemies will not be so forward to quarrel with her.

THERE have been a great variety of arts, trades, manufactures, and productions recommended, from time to time, by private persons, in order to be encouraged in some part or other of the British dominions; many

of which have been enumerated in our last discourse: but whatever shall be thought eligible in the opinion of private people, is not always to be regarded by the state. There are too many things that come from individuals, that rather deserve contempt than attention: yet it may not be politic in a state to despise and stifle the efforts of the most obscure, when they appear any thing rational, because a trifling public performance may be productive of others unspeakably interesting. The society supposed to exist, therefore, we may imagine, will take any thing into their consideration that may be submitted by men of letters to the public for the emolument of commerce: and when they shall recommend to the legislature, or to the practice of the public, what shall be thus communicated, we may presume it will be duly regarded by both; because the matter will be duly enquired into, and its practicability and uses pointed out, explained and illustrated by the authority of the society. This will prove another means of introducing and promoting whatever shall be found beneficial to the community that shall come from the press also.—To give one instance explanatory of my meaning.

LET us suppose, for example, that any nation should quarrel with England, from which she takes large quantities of wines; as from Spain or Portugal; or suppose either of these nations should lay aside, or greatly diminish,

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minish, in times of peace, in their purchase of our woollen and other manufactures: in either case, or from other motives, we will further suppose, that the court of England should think it advisable, by way of resentment or retaliation, to encourage the productions of wine for home-consumption in our country, and gradually lessen the importation thereof from Spain or Portugal. For the article of foreign wines is a very expensive one to Great Britain, and should be retrenched, since our trade with Spain and Portugal also declines daily.

In order to satisfy the government of the practicability hereof, the society for the improvement of arts and trades might be consulted, it naturally falling within their department. Upon such an occasion, the society would certainly enquire, who were the proper persons to be advised with; what celebrated writers had treated on that subject, and what other measures were prudent for them to take, in order to make a due judgment of this design submitted to their consideration. Upon such an enquiry, with whom could the society more properly advise than the learned and ingenious Dr. Peter Shaw, physician in ordinary to his majesty; this gentleman having eminently distinguished himself in all chemical philosophy, and having wrote on the subject of wines better than any one else, so as to answer such a purpose to the court of Great Britain? The

works of the learned Dr. Stahl likewise should be consulted upon a matter of this nature; upon whose labours our learned Dr. Shaw has greatly improved.—To give an idea, how far we may be able to supply ourselves with wines, in case we should be ever put to the necessity of it. Be that, however, as it may, our shewing the probability of it, may deter wine countries from declining to trade with us, when they know we can retaliate on them in the like way, without destroying the custom of wine-drinking in the nation.

It is well known, that artificial or made wines, as they are vulgarly called, are produced from cherries, gooseberries, currants, alderberries, blackberries, plums, and also from tappings of certain trees, as the birch, the maple, the sycamore, &c. and more eminently from the juice of the sugar-cane, treacle, or direct sugar and water. For any of these vegetable juices, being duly fermented, afford as real and perfect wine, according to their several natures, as the richest grapes of the best wine countries.

THE wines made, at present, in England, lie under disrepute, says Dr. Shaw; the reason whereof seems chiefly owing, first, to the inartificial manner wherein they are usually prepared; and, secondly, to a certain rumour spread about them, as if they were unwholesome, crude, indigestible, too

luscious,

luscious, too tart or griping, and apt to occasion the head-act, &c.

THOSE, who have never been in wine-countries, nor otherwise made themselves acquainted with the nature and common preparation of wines, proceed, in their judgment of them, according to popular report, or notions, and the immediate information of the senses. Thus, for instance, red port wines, to please the common taste, must be bright, deep-coloured, rough, rich, and racy, two or three years old, &c. And when this, or any other notion, comes to prevail as the criterion of wine, the cooper is thence directed how to hit the general taste, and make a saleable commodity.

UPON the same principle, philosophical chemistry instructs us to imitate the wine-cooper; and from almost any sweet and tart vegetable juice, to make saleable wines; even facks, mountains, sherries, or ports: all which, by the way, are usually mixed liquors; though the basis of them all is in the juice of the grape.

THIS juice of the grape, being chemically examined and considered, proves to be no more than a large proportion of *real sugar* dissolved in water, with the addition only of a certain flavour in the juice of the grape; according to the nature of the vine. Whence we may lay it down as an axiom, and the result of a careful enquiry, that a saccharine
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substance is the basis of wines. For sugar is not peculiar to the sugar-cane, but obtainable also from grapes; and accordingly, we often find large grains thereof in dried raisins; particularly those of Malaga, that have laid for some time, and sweet together; whereby they run into candy, a saccharine efflorescence, and actual grains of sugar.

HENCE we may observe, that any vegetable subject that is reducible to a pure dry saccharine substance, may be practised upon to advantage, as a vinous subject, as well as sugar. But if we have not in Great Britain and Ireland natural substances, which afford a saccharine substance sufficient to supply us with wines, we need not doubt but our sugar colonies can; for lump sugar well cleansed of its treacle, is a subject no less fit for the making of the most delicate wines than the juice of the grape itself. The analysis of the juice of the grape before fermentation, shews it to be no other than a saccharine substance dissolved in water, with the addition of a tartarous acid: which is fully confirmed by a chemical resolution. Whence it is easy to expect, that if tartar, which in the natural salt of wine, or of any sweet vegetable juice fermented, can be artificially dissolved in a proper mixture of sugar and water, it would give an exact resemblance of the thing. And upon experiment it has been found, that tartar may be thus dissolved, so as to communicate an

an agreeable acidity to sugar; and thus to imitate, in great perfection, the natural sweet juices of vegetables, without their particular flavours: and hence experiments discover to us the nature, use and perfection of the art of sweets. By a sweet is understood any vegetable juice, whether obtained by the means of sugar, raisins, or other foreign or domestic fruit; which is added to wines, with a design to improve them. So that, the art of sweet-making might receive a high degree of improvement, by using pure sugar, as one general wholesome sweet, instead of those infinite mixtures of honey, raisins, syrups, treacle, stum, cyder, &c. wherewith the sweet-makers supply the wine-coopers, to lengthen out or amend wines. For pure sugar being added to any poor wine, will ferment therewith, improve it, and bring it to a proper degree of strength and vinosity. If the wine to be thus amended is tart of itself, no tartar should be added to the sugar: but if it be too sweet, or luscious, then the addition of tartar is proper.

BUT it is not my intention to enter into the art of wine making, referring for that to the works of the learned gentlemen before-mentioned, who have expressly and very learnedly and judiciously treated on that subject: all that I would observe, is only to show: that together with our native fruits and various other vegetable substances the growth of our climate, and the assistance of our sugar
colo-

colonies, we are capable of supplying ourselves amply and cheaply with good and wholesome wines of any flavour, without being obliged to foreign countries for them.

AND how this might be carried into general execution for the benefit of the nation as well as of the government, the society might be able easily to show: and this instance is sufficient to give an idea of the unspeakable utility of such a body wisely supported by the state, to take into their consideration the improvement of every art, that shall tend to the emolument of the community.

AND if England should resolve to begin the art of wine making in earnest, she might, perhaps, become not only capable of supplying her own consumption, but of exporting them to many foreign countries. For, if once we took to the art, we should by gradual experience excel in every branch of practice, requisite to bring the same to it's ultimate perfection; we should fall into all the practicable methods of concentrating wines, so as to reduce their bulk, render them more unalterable and perfect, more durable and fit for service, carriage and exportation; for these things are easily attainable, if the study and practice of chemical philosophy shall become more generally pursued.

THE farther cultivation and improvement of these studies will open new views of infinite extent. The due application of chemistry,

mistry, as to the supporting and improving useful trade, and commerce, will (1) supply the demands of a nation, and afford a surplus of commodities for exportation and foreign consumption. (2) It discovers the several ways of condensing, curing, preparing, securing and fitting natural and artificial productions, or commodities, for transportation and carriage : and (3) it shews the means of supplying chemical necessities to voyagers and travellers in founding, supporting and improving the business of trade, traffic and commerce in different countries.

THIS subject is of too complex, and intricate a nature for national purposes, to be adjusted from bare philosophical and chemical considerations : a knowledge of the different policies, laws, interests, and customs of other countries is here required ; or the joint abilities of the statesman and the merchant. Thus, perhaps, it might not, though it were practicable, (while England continues in perfect friendship with Spain and Portugal, and our trade on their parts are no way injured, and that of France encouraged at her expence,) be for the interest of England to rival them in wines ; or Germany or Sweden in metals ; nor Holland in the production of corn spirits, and the cheap preparation and refinement of certain other commodities : but it may be greatly her interest to rival France in her wines and brandies, and in whatever else she shall be capable of.

BUT

BUT supposing England to have no very interesting connections with certain states, and at full liberty, and the customs, duties and drawbacks in her favour; then it is a point of philosophical and chemical consideration, to shew what arts may be rendered commercial, for the benefit of our own kingdom. And amongst others of this kind may come the following, *viz.* the arts of wines and brandies from grapes of English growth; the same arts without grapes, as we have observed, to still greater profit; and practicable with much less trouble and expence—The art of producing corn spirits to better advantage than our neighbouring states; and underselling them at the foreign markets—The art of producing vinegars, cheaper than in France, or Holland—The art of producing arracs, equal or superior in goodness to those of India—The art of refining camphire to more perfection than other countries—The art of making hard oil-soaps, equal to the foreign—The arts of curing several sorts of fish and flesh, to greater advantage than our rivals—The art of refining borax, to greater profit and perfection—The art of making white lead, to greater advantage than other countries, &c.

IT is not necessary to be large in the enumeration of many other chemical arts, no less improveable than these, for the purposes of commerce; because this is sufficient to convey the idea intended; and a single one, when

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when fully advanced and extended, may often prove the principal business of a whole country. But what arts might be politically necessary to cultivate and improve the learned society, which we suppose to be established, would be good judges, with the intelligence they might receive: and in this manner, we should be capable of showing our resentment to any nation who should injure us; who should violate their faith, and disregard their solemn treaties: and this method of national resentment might restrain other states, perhaps, from being perfidious more than the dread of war; that now being reduced to a mere trade, and by alliances may be carried to what length nations please. But, when treacherous states shall experience, that Great Britain will revenge themselves as well by their trade as by their swords, they will change their conduct towards her: and by the former, we have seen, and shall further see, how Great Britain, with the aid of Ireland and her plantations may be enabled to injure more effectually the trade and navigation of any nation that acts unjustly or dishonourable by her, than she can, perhaps, by dint of her arms alone; for the art of trade, may render this nation more invincible than the art of war only can do: but the proper exertion of both will put it in our power to maintain, not only our own liberties and independency, but likewise those of all christendom. For, if Great Britain does not stand in the gap as she
has

has hitherto done, farewell the liberties of all mankind !

IF it should be enquired from whence these apprehensions of danger arise? We answer, from the detriment arising to our trade and navigation; for these daily decline, while those of other states daily advance: If this is the case, must not our wealth and our power dwindle, as those of other nations encrease?

WHETHER this is not the case, let any one of candour and impartiality examine the facts, and faithful representations founded thereon, which I have given throughout the course of my writings, in relation to the commercial policy of France; and then let him judge, if any system can possibly be better grounded for the total destruction of the British trade and commerce, and the exaltation of their own?

LET the judicious and unbiaſſed likewise consider, all we have urged with respect to the commercial politics of the court of Spain; how they are adapted to supply their colonies in America with those manufactures that they have been wont to take of England; and the underhand preference, which they have some years given to the French fabrics in detriment to those of England; and how for some years our exports to Old Spain have decreased, while those from France to Spain have augmented: And since Minorca is wrested out of

of our hands, every one knows the present melancholy condition of our Italian, and our Turkey, and Levant trades. Is it not notorious that several of our rich ships have long lain rotting in the port of Leghorn ; while the proprietors of their cargoes are great sufferers, and the revenue of the customs deprived of the duties ? Will not our custom-house revenue very severely feel the effects of the present precarious state of our whole Mediterranean commerce ? And may not the deficiencies of those funds prove very great, when they shall come to be made good by parliament ? While our trade in this part of the world, is in a state of declension ; we find those, not only of France and Spain triumphant there, but we find His Neapolitan Majesty making large commercial advances in the traffic of his subjects to the Levant. Have not our merchants often experienced the injuries and insults offered to the nation by the corsairs of Barbary ; and if we shall not be able to regain our influence amongst the Italian states, shall we not experience the like treatment with more severity ? That the British commerce to Portugal has been some time upon the declining condition, we have shewed to be no less true than all the rest : by the improvement only of the French manufacture of black druggets, the French have hurt the woollen manufactures of our kingdom in this article alone, to the amount of no less than two hundred thousand pounds sterl.

per Annum; and this is the case, with regard to divers other branches of the English commerce: for do not the Portuguese seem resolved to carry on their trade to the Bravils for their own account as much as they can by the means of a company of merchants which they have lately established at Oporto? Do not the French factories encrease in this kingdom, while the British decline? Does not the treatment, which the British merchants have here met with of late years prognosticate the loss of our commercial interest in this nation, as well as the others above intimated? Will not the present state of our trade in the Mediterranean greatly affect the trade between that and Portugal; and will not this affect England in a double respect, and diminish the circulation of Portugal gold in the nation?

How the ballance of trade stands between England and the East countries is well enough known not to need animadversion: and that the Russia trade is likewise disadvantageous is no less notorious. And we would ask, whether the benefits, which Great Britain receives by the neutrality of the Dutch, the Hamburgher, Danes, Swedes, and Spaniards, bear any comparison with those made by the French? Does not the greater cheapness of the French commodities in general, when compared with ours, induce those neutral states to traffic more for their own account, also for company account with French traders, and other
foreign-

foreigners than they will do in our goods, by reason of their greater dearness in general than those of France? Is not the French commerce, by virtue of neutral carriers, more extended at this time of war, than that of Great Britain? Though France hereby lose the benefit of the employment of quantity of their mercantile shipping, and consequently of freight; yet, is not this made up to them in a great measure, by savings in the articles of insurance? and are they not hereby advantaged in their naval power, by converting their trading vessels into those of war; and thereby have less trading ships for us to take of theirs, and we more of ours for them to take, by being obliged to be our own carriers; since neutrals do not find it so much for their interest to carry our commodities for us, they not selling so well as French at foreign markets?

As to our trade in America, that, which we had, some time before the war, with our Northern colonies was greatly reduced; and that with our islands is not bettered; no more than is that of Africa, or Asia.

Do not these considerations make it necessary to think, without loss of time, of the effectual ways and means to reduce the price of our exportable commodities to a parity with those of France? If any other measures shall be demonstrated more effectual to answer this important purpose than those which I have adopted, in the train of my writings; I will

cheerfully give them up ; but till better can be supported, these may deserve trial.

SHOULD not this idea of our trade rouse and animate us to exert every measure to advance it? Will not what we have urged in relation to the establishment of a society for the improvement of new arts and trades greatly contribute hereto, in conjunction with those various other measures, which we have endeavoured to maintain and enforce throughout our writings? Let no one, therefore, judge these faithful representations useless, or drawn up from other motives than the public interest; for time will prove their expediency, when those who may disregard them may live to be treated with the contempt and indignation they deserve from an injured nation.

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DISSERTATION IX.

Further motives exciting to agriculture, from the example of the Chinese; with an abstract of some philosophic remarks, relating to the cultivation of land.

SUCH is the industry of the husbandmen of china, and such their indefatigable application to labour, that there is no province in the empire but wears the aspect of fertility, and none but what can support an inconceivable multitude of inhabitants. Besides the nature of the soil being well meliorated by art, the prodigious quantity of canals with which the land is separated, contributes not a little to it's fruitfulness; and so many different species of grain are produced, that they employ divers of them to make wine and several spirituous liquors. But when a barrenness or scarcity is apprehended in one place, the mandarins always obstruct the making of strong liquors.

AGRICULTURE is here in great estimation, and it's practisers revered as the most useful persons in the state, and maintain a considerable rank. They are indulged with

great privileges, and preferred before tradesmen, or even merchants.

THE general care of the husbandmen is for the cultivation of rice. When they are unemployed in the fields, they cultivate kitchen gardens, the Chinese not being inclined to prefer the agreeable to the useful, and employ their land with such unprofitable things as parterres, flowers, and fine walks. They think it more concerns the public good, that all their land be cultivated with something beneficial rather than merely ornamental.

ALL the plains are cultivated; we perceive neither hedges nor ditches, nor almost any ordinary tree: so much do they fear the loss of an inch of land, as it were. In many provinces the land bears twice a year, and even between the two harvests they sow small grains and pot-herbs. The provinces to the North and West bear wheat, barley, various sorts of millet, tobacco, green peas, as well black as yellow, wherewith to fatten horses instead of oats: they give them rice, but in small quantities. The southern parts yield abundance of rice, the country being low and humid.

IN the provinces where the plains are very hilly and mountainous, there are some of them barren, but the most are good lands, and they are cultivated, even on the borders of precipices. It is an agreeable sight, to behold sometimes plains of three or four leagues
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surrounded by hills and mountains, cut in the manner of a terras from the summit to the vale. These terrases rise above each other to the number of twenty or thirty, at the height of three or four feet.

THOUGH there are some provinces desert uncultivated mountains, the vallies and mountains which separate them, are very fruitful. We can scarce see any land but what plentifully abounds with rice or other useful grain. The industry of the Chinese has levelled the unequal ground betwixt their mountains, which is capable of any improvement. They divide into parterres that which is on a level, and by stories in form of an amphitheatre that which, by reason of the declivity of the valleys has higher and lower places. As the rice will not do without well watering, they place at proper distances great reservoirs, at different heights, to collect rain-water, and what runs from the mountains, that they may disperse it equally over the parterres of rice; wherein they spare no fatigue, whether in letting the water fall by the declivity of the higher reservoirs into the lower parterres, or by making it rise from stage to stage to the very highest.

ON this occasion they make use of certain hydraulic engines, of a very simple composition, to make the water thus circulate, and throw it over their lands whenever needful: so that let the season prove almost as it shall, the farmer is, as it were, certain to see a

perpetual harvest suitable to his industry. Their hydraulic engine is composed of a chain of wood, and a great number of small plates of six or seven inches square, strung together in the middle, parallel at equal distances, and at right angles in the chain of wood. This engine is extended along a wooden canal made of three boards, in form of an auger; so that the inferior half of this engine rests upon the bottom of this auger, and fills the whole vacuity of it, and the superior one, which is parallel to it, rests upon a board placed along the opening of the canal. One of the extremities of this engine, we mean the lower one, passes round a moveable cylinder, the axle of which is poised upon the two sides of the lower extremities of the machine; and the other extremity of the engine is mounted on a kind of drum furnished with little boards, so placed, that they close exactly with those of the engine; and this drum turning by the power applied to the axle, makes the engine turn. As the higher extremity of the canal, which this drum rests on, is supported at the height to which they would raise the water, and the lower extremity is plunged in the water, which they would raise; it is necessary that the lower part of this engine, which takes up exactly the cavity of the canal of wood, should ascend along this canal, and that all the small planks, raising with them as much water as they meet; that is, as much water as the canal

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canal can contain, there being formed a rivulet of water, which ascends without intermission to the height which you wish, as long as the machine continues in motion; notwithstanding the higher part of the engine descending uniformly along the plank on which it rests, these two motions produce all the effect of the machine, which is put in motion in the three following manners.

FIRST, by the hand, by means of two or three handles fixed to the axis of the drum. Secondly, with the feet, by means of certain cogs of thick wood, placed setting out at the distance of half a foot round the tree or axis of the drum; these cogs have large round heads externally; such we mean, as are proper to fix in them the sole of a naked foot, so that one or more men, according to the number of the cogs, either standing or setting, may only, as it were, playing together by the motion of their feet, without any straining, holding in one hand an umbrella, and the other a fan, make a rivulet of water rise to any height required over their dry lands. Thirdly, by the means of a buffalo, or some other animal, which they tye to a great wheel about two fathoms in diameter, situated horizontally, at the circumference of which they have fixed a great number of cogs or teeth; which corresponding exactly with the teeth of the drum, they make the machine turn, though far greater, with more facility.

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WHEN they cleanse a channel, they cut it here and there by ditches, and they assign a part to each of the neighbouring villages. There immediately appear different companies of peasants, who bring a kind of engine of little square board, which they use to raise the water of the canal; and as the banks are very high, they raise their engines three stories high, and so bring up the water from the one to the other. There are places, where the mountains, which are not very high, touch one another, and are almost without vallies; yet they are quite cultivated by the art, which the labourers have of making as much water flow into them as they judge proper, by conveying it from one mountain to another by pipes of bamboo.

WHAT supports those in their toils, who, with so great care and fatigue cultivate the lands, is not so much their own interest as the veneration in which agriculture is had, and the esteem, which the emperors of China have paid it, since the very infancy of the empire. It is their opinion that it was taught them by one of their first emperors, called Chim-nong, whose memory they revere to this day as the inventor of an art so useful to the people. And their emperors go at stated times in person to till the ground, in order to indicate the veneration in which agriculture ought to be had in every state. So great is the care of the emperor or the mandarins for the cultivation of the lands, that when deputies

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ties come from the vice-roys to court, the emperor never fails to ask them, in what state or condition they have seen the fields ; and a seasonable rain falling, lays a foundation for the mandarins being visited and complimented.

THIS high veneration for agriculture is one great, if not the principal source of that plenty and prosperity which reign in China. For this added to their other industrious arts, renders the trade carried on in the heart of the empire so great, that the traffic of all Europe can scarce be compared with it. The various provinces are like so many kingdoms communicating to one another what is peculiar to each ; whereby they become all united, and convey unspeakable abundance to all the cities, and render all their productions, and their manufactures so extremely cheap, that they beat all the world therein ; and induce all nations to come to them for the purchase thereof ; without carrying 'em themselves, except within the bounds of their coasting trade.

BESIDES the artful administration of water for the improvement of agriculture, there are divers other particulars requisite. We have before shewed from the judicious application of the various soils of Great Britain and Ireland, and how by their due mixture and incorporation, they may contribute to give reciprocal fecundity to each other, according to their peculiar native quality and texture.

IT

It may, therefore, prove no less useful, in order to forward and promote that cultivation of land, which we plead for, to give next a succinct account of the various kinds of manure for rendring land fruitful ; for not only the practicable farmer may from hence gain some knowledge that may turn to his account, but the speculative country gentleman may be induced to try experiments himself, or recommend them to the trial of his tenants ; by which they may both be benefited.

Of the several kinds of manure, no one need be informed that dungs in general have been long experienced to be serviceable ; but these must be duly distinguished and applied, or they may do mischief as well as good, for want of observing the properties of different kinds of dung and manure, which have been given us by the philosopher, as well as the practical husbandman.

FIRST, the dung of sea-fowls. It has been found that the dung of those birds, which retire into the islands near the continent, is the best of all fowl-dung, by reason of their subsisting so much upon the water, its constant exhaling spirit, and the fertile fatness of marshes ; from whence they imbibe a strong nutriment, whereof their excrements participate, and administer the same to soils properly prepared and adapted to receive the same.

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Duck and goose dung. This is reckoned too hot and burning, especially that of wild-geese ; but if care be taken to gather it in heaps, as well as that of tame ducks and geese, to throw straw over it, and incorporate it with the dung of large cattle, these over-hot dungs may be brought to a state of temperature that would indemnify the pains taken.

THE virtue of this method is known by experience: a farmer having abandoned a piece of ground to his geese for the space of twelve years, at the expiration of that time turned them out to let the grass grow, and it rose so thick and strong, that the scythe would scarce pass through it.

POULTRY and pidgeon's dung are scattered in small quantities upon land intended to be sown ; and on account of their heat, are rarely used, except when rain is foreseen. It is practised with advantage for millet, and is a good manure for meadows: but all hot dungs should be properly tempered with other colder manure, according to the humidity, or heat of the soil to which they may be applied.

HUMAN ordure. This is replete with an impure and burning sulphur, that destroys every thing, unless applied with great caution ; which consists in leaving it exposed several months to the open air. It must be turned up from time to time that it may rot, it's bad qualities destroyed, and it's heat moderated.

derated. If it be duly mixed with pond-mud after well rotting, it will be found as useful as it is commonly judged dangerous, especially if used in vineyards.

ASS-DUNG is the most esteemed of any, and may be used in any shape, without having lain long rotting: the reason assigned for this excellence is, that the animal being phlegmatic and strong, eats slowly, and by grinding his aliment well, digests better than most other creatures; whence his excrements being more dissolved, neither abound with heat nor humidity, and are nearer to putrefaction.

SHEEP-DUNG. This is of no duration, even when taken from the cotes, and less durable when the sheep are folded. In the last case, in order to prevent a sudden evaporation of the fertile quality of the dung, the ground included in the fold ought to be covered with chopt straw or foliage, before the sheep enter: but many dislike this manner, by reason of the difficulty of dunging equally; a task requiring a diligent and a faithful shepherd, and because to profit hereby, the dung must be immediately buried. The wheat and barley that grow upon lands manured with this dung are not proper for making beer, which contracts a bad taste from it.

THE dung of horned cattle is the most refreshing of all; and this well-known quality shews what ground it best agrees with. It is a wise precaution to make a sink in the
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stalls, paved and lined with stone, in which the juice of the dung may be preserved, from acrimony : this juice is useful in watering meadows as well as gardens and trees.

HOG's dung is not commonly esteemed, yet when it has rotted some time, and mixed with other manures, as the dung of large cattle, it answers as well as many others ; it is deemed specific in preserving the hop from the bad effects of the mildew.

HORSE-DUNG being naturally dry and warm, is little valued by some farmers ; but the most understanding will not despise it. With this alone hot beds may be made ; it is quite necessary for asparagus, and, when rotted, is excellent for all the plants of the kitchen garden. It is not, indeed, easily rotted, but may be assisted with rain water, or soap-suds, which fill it with salt and oil. It may likewise be mixed with cow-dung, or with pond mud, which will temper its heat and dryness, and then it will prove as good as any other kind of manure.

MARL, is by the confession of all a most excellent dung : it is a kind of lime-stone, supposed to be the beginning of chalk, before it acquires its consistence, and hardness ; and if chalk could be dissolved and pulverised, it would prove no less useful than marl itself. This stone, which resembles clay, is either white, black, grey, or yellow ; sometimes found under the first crust of the earth, and sometimes taken from the depth
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of four or five fathom. The marl being dug out of the earth, is laid in small heaps upon the land, and afterwards spread like ordinary dung. It is so replete with virtue, as to fatten the earth for twelve, fifteen, twenty, and often thirty years, during which it will require no other manure. But being very hot, and that in different degrees, the quality of it must be examined, and proportioned to the nature of the land on which it is to be spread. It is dangerous to lay it on too thick, for in that case it will burn. Let whatever precautions be taken, a good crop is not to be expected from the first year; yet the farmer is amply recompensed afterwards. It is convenient to marl the land in the autumn or spring, that being dissolved by the rains usual in these seasons, it may enter the earth so as to fertilize it, let it be ever so barren.

GREEN turf rotted or burnt. Wherever the farmer can advantageously strip his earth, as in old ditches, marshes, &c. he carries away as much turf as he can, lays it in a heap, leaves it to rot for a year, and then spreads it on the land, which he wants to fatten: it may be used sooner, if lime be mixed between the layers of it, this helping to consume it more quickly, and by impregnating the turf with its own virtue, renders it more fit to fertilize the land. The burning of turf dexterously and gradually in ovens made of the same, with proper air-holes, to ashes, and spreading the land with the same, will greatly

greatly meliorate lands. Those who can find turf, without being obliged to skin their meadows, will find the advantage of it greatly.

PEASE, vetches, lupins, and beans. Nothing is more useful in fattening the ground than to sow these sorts of grain, and, before they come to maturity, cut them down; then till and over-run them in the earth, without regard to the small profit expected from the crop, in case left to ripen; for these kinds of pulse greatly exhaust the earth; and it is easy to conceive, that the nourishing juices are far more abundant in the fruit than in the stalks and leaves; and that if the fruit is carried away, we cannot, by overturning the rest, restore to the earth all that she has given. Besides, we should consider, that what is supposed to be lost, in omitting to gather the fruits, will be retrieved by the saving of dung, which will not be wanted for the land, as well of carriage and workmen to spread it. Nevertheless, for a supply of grain, a piece of ground may be reserved to be dunged as usual, on which pulse may be left to ripen for a crop. This kind of fattening is most proper for high grounds, to which it would be expensive to carry dung.

POND-MUD. By this is understood not only the mud of ponds, but also the slime that rivers deposite when they retire, after having overflowed their banks, and that which gathers on the declivity of high places,

in pits that are either natural, or prepared by the skilful farmer. This soil is excellent, because it is new. However, it must not be employed immediately, especially the mud of ponds, because being extremely moist it will chill the earth, and produce an effect contrary to the farmer's expectation: but if it be placed as a dunghill, in a sloping manner, so as gradually to drain off the chilly gross humidity of the water, it may, when pretty dry, be used soon, with great benefit. Or if it be proportionably mixed with chalk, the compost may be the sooner used. Care must be taken not to suffer this pond mud to lay years without using, because the fertilizing salts wherewith it has been richly impregnated by the water, will either be washed away, or evaporated, and nothing but dead earth remain. It should be observed, that pond mud being left to dry, presents a surface mixed with sand, and a kind of dead clay, which is useless as manure; but this layer being removed, the fertilizing matter will be found below. This being dried, must be spread equally and pretty thick upon the land, and soon turned underground, least its oleaginous parts be dissipated, or washed away, or too low to promote the vegetable virtue intended.

ASHES. Hereby we mean to speak only of the wood-ashes taken from chimneys, forges, and ovens, and those of coal, earth and turf. These are particularly excellent for

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for pease, vetches, and other such pulse; they are scattered or sown when the plant hath risen about an inch above the surface of the earth; but as their salt being very sharp, would infallibly injure the tender vegetables, they are not used till the farmer can depend upon immediate rain to dissolve and soften their too great acrimony.

SOAP-WATER, and soap-ashes. These, in the opinion of some, are the most estimable of all sorts of manure; especially soap-suds, to which may be added lye-water. The great virtue of this manure consists as well of the animal salts as the oils therein contained, proceeding from the soap and the linen washed therewith, as the vegetable; and these of the animal quality soften those of the other. This water will produce admirable effects in gardens. The ashes taken from soap-houses ought to be kept dry, and never carried to the ground till it is ready to be sown; then the ashes are spread as equally as possible with shovels; and care may be taken to lay them on pretty thick, experience having shewn that the ground is bettered thereby for eight or nine years, during which it will need little other manure. If there is not a sufficient quantity of ashes, dung may be added to them; but then they are not so effectual as may be easily imagined.

SHELLS. Some spots of land abound with shells, that are for the most part brittle, and crumble into white powder, which

makes a very valuable manure, and will render lands fruitful many years.

LIME, and lime-ashes. The property of lime is to destroy noxious weeds and insects, and fertilize the land. The season for its use is when the land is ready to receive the seed; but it is dangerous to use unslacked lime, its heat parching the land too much. When the lime is properly burnt and slacked, and the ashes spread pretty equally and thick over the ground intended to be fattened thereby, and the farmer, in the first year, does not reap such an abundant harvest as he might expect, the second will pay with interest what the first could not afford. When we say it is proper to prepare entirely for the seed the ground upon which the lime shall be laid, the reason is, that it must be considered, by scattering the lime and labouring afterwards, the lime will be turned underground, and its virtue still descending, can no longer act near the surface of the earth to answer the end proposed; and therefore the land will continue to be over-run with noxious weeds and insects, instead of being cleansed from both. Wherefore, the reason is apparent, why the ground ought to be entirely laboured, before the lime be applied, that we may be assured it will remain upon the surface, and do the execution expected.

BLOOD. However this is neglected, it is one of the principal species of manure. The nature hereof being replete with salts, oils, and

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and spirits, should demonstrate how rational it was to fertilize the earth. Every judicious farmer will, therefore, take care not to lose one single drop of that which is taken from his beasts; and furnish himself with as much as he can procure from the shambles; it amply requiting him, by the fruitfulness of the land upon which it shall be sprinkled. Nor can this be at all unnatural to comprehend, since the earth which breeds and nourishes brute animals may be reasonably enough supposed, to be constituted of that, which will renourish and refertilize the land again: and it may deserve consideration whether philosophic means may not be discovered, which will so coagulate and preserve the same from putrefaction, that it may be carried from cities and market-towns to any of the counties, and afterwards be properly dissolved for the purposes of vegetation.

STREET-DIRT. The goodness of this manure consists in its being fat, well-diluted, and mixed with abundance of animal dung, and sweepings thrown from houses, with things that have the virtue of dung. It ought not, however, to be used until some time after it hath been collected, when it is thoroughly rotten, and well soaked with rain; and to accelerate its preparation, it should be stirred from time to time, to imbibe all the virtues of the air and dew, and be afterwards put in a position proper to

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throw off the superfluous quality of the aqueous humidity.

SOOT contains a very volatile salt, and produced from wood agrees well with onions; but, with respect to other vegetables, it ought not to be used without great caution, on account of its acrimony.

SALT-PETRE, or nitre and common salt. Nitre and salt are the most efficacious principles of vegetation; and that in them only consists the virtue of all the dungs and every other kind of manure that are used: whence it is that all matter impregnated with these salts is proper for fertilizing the earth.

PLAISTER and rubbish of old houses. This matter is universally thrown away, as absolutely useless, into places where it can turn to no account: notwithstanding, the knowing farmer should observe, that after the bricks, tiles, and stones are taken away, what remains will be useful, as it is a mixture of lime and clay, which hath been impregnated with the fertilizing principles of the air, and the like exhalations of the earth, during a long series of years; without taking into consideration the rotten wood, and other decayed matter always belonging to such places. Besides, where plaister is common, we always see it engendring, or attracting salt-petre in the lower or humid parts of the houses; and, therefore, these refuse and despicable materials will all greatly contribute to the enriching of lands.

FRAG-

FRAGMENTS of slate, and lye-ashes. When land that is too fat, and unctious, wants to be lightened and opened, it is a very good method to sprinkle it with powdered slate or lixivious ashes, which break the clods of earth, and give air to the interstices; which penetrating into the interior parts, sets in motion, and heats the salts and oil with which such lands abound,

BURNT stubble. The burning of this refuse has been at all times universally known as the certain means of destroying weeds and insects; but this practice is not without danger. For, if we do not take particular care, in observing from what point the wind blows, great damage may be done to the fruit-trees and woods in the neighbourhood. In countries where the grass grows so thick, that the sheep cannot consume the whole, about the autumn they set fire to the dry grass, that the new may sprout up in the spring; and this is the reason of the extraordinary fertility of these districts. Divers farmers, indeed, chuse rather to plow it under ground, than to burn it; thinking that by thus rotting, it renders the land more light and fruitful. But if it was first to rot for a twelve-month or more in a moist place, or a stagnated water, it might be plowed on to greater advantage.

ALL putrefied substances. Putrefaction is the operation by which nature dissolves one body for the formation of another; it is,

therefore, easy to conceive, that every thing which is putrified must favour vegetation; and it is unnecessary to insist farther upon the subject.

URINE is full of salt and spirit; but they are so strong and acrimonious, that they burn every thing when the urine is employed by itself; but if it be mixed with rain water, it then becomes an excellent manure, if gradually applied; or, if it be from time to time cast, not in too great a proportion, upon dung manure, it will enrich it: but care must be taken not to throw it thereon in too large quantities at a time, lest the humidity should wash away the salts from the dung, and rather injure than improve the same.

WINE-LEES. There are few vegetable substances that are more abundantly impregnated with the solar virtues than the vine; wherefore, the lees deposited in the casks by wine, are richly replete with vigorous salts and spirits: but care must be taken in covering ground with them, that their most subtile and volatile parts do not evaporate, or be washed too far below the surface of the earth to forward and improve the vegetable life.

CURRIER-LYE, &c. To this lye must be added all that comes from tan-works, fulling-mills, dyers vats, and manufactures of wool, as well as all the waste in hide-dressing, hair and horns of animals, and leather-works of
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all kinds. Every thing, likewise, that belongs to the animal kingdom is precious for those purposes, on account of the nutritious salts, with which it abounds ; and these good qualities are augmented by the oil and fat used in preparing the greatest part of it, or in keeping the leather in repair. That old leather, therefore, which is usually thrown away, ought to be carefully preserved for those good purposes ; for whether scattered upon the land, in small pieces, or steeped and rotted in all sorts of greasy and dirty water ; such as dish-washings, soap-suds, &c. kept for enriching lands, the wonderful effects of all these things will soon appear to the industrious farmer.

POTTER'S earth is commonly employed upon sandy grounds, and such as retain no water ; it binds the earth, and fits it for the reception of such other manure as will render it very fruitful.

PIT-COAL being greatly impregnated with sulphur and oil, sea-sand, and sea-weeds, which abound with salts, and, indeed, every species of saline and oleaginous matter in general, will always make a beneficial manure ; for these salts and oils constitute the essential principles of all that is useful in the ordinary sort of dungs ; and when they become dissolved into the primary, and general unspecificated principles of the elements, they become universal magnets to attract to the surface

face of the earth, both from it's subterraneous as well as atmospherical parts more and more of the nutritious matters, whereby all the vegetable creation is restored, and encreased and multiplied, according to the nature of the seed sown.

THERE are various other particulars, besides what we have mentioned, that are requisite to be observed, with relation to dungs in general. If the dung is not sufficiently rotted, dissolved and opened, it cannot fatten and fertilize the earth, in which it will remain several years, without being consumed: if it is too much rotted, and the saline and oily qualities too much dissolved, and therefore too much dissipated, it will lose the greatest part of it's strength, and not encrease the crop. In ditches it rots pretty well, when heaped together; but it is apt to turn sour, and then is useless. The best method, therefore, seems to be to place it on a gentle declivity, that the rain water may run off without souring it; and to make the dunghill higher than it is broad, that scouring the surface, it may not damage it too much, and wash away all the nutritive spirit. It will be very useful to dig sinks below, and at some distance from the dunghills, in order to retain the juice, which if properly saved, is precious to every prudent farmer, for steeping his seeds before they are sown, for it is replete with oil and salt, or for macerating different kinds of manure, or for facilitating the putrefaction of
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horse, or other dungs that are very dry and hot in their own nature. Due caution also must be used not to load an old heap with new dung, the weight of which will too much compress and squeeze out the fertilizing substance of the old.

It is necessary to make separate heaps of each kind of dung; and also beneficial to mix them all together, that their different qualities being consolidated, may produce a general manure, which may be every-where used with success: but it is difficult to lay down precise rules on this subject; the farmer's own discretion will prompt him to examine whether he has occasion or not for any particular dung; and the nature of his grounds, with which he will endeavour to make himself acquainted, will furnish him with certain rules for his conduct in this respect.

WE may observe in the general, that all land is either cold or moist, or hot and dry: upon this simple principle, reason dictates the application of hot dung to cold lands; and cold to hot; but as there are different degrees of heat and dryness, and of cold and humidity, the attentive farmer will take care to proportion the quality and quantity of the dung to the quality of the land; and this may be done by mixing together these different species of dung or other manure, which are the best adapted to the soil, which they are intended to meliorate. This is a matter of inter-

interesting reflection to the farmer; for, besides that he cannot be well acquainted with the quality of the ground, but by dint of experience and accurate observation, he must not flatter himself that it will remain always in the same state. A rivulet that used to run adjoining to a field, chancing to change it's course, is sufficient to alter that field from moist and cool to hot and dry. This example, we mention, from a thousand others of the same kind, which we might urge, to convince every man who cultivates his land, that he ought to be perpetually attentive to the methods, which reason and experience dictate him to take with it, if he would reap good fruit from his labours.

As the same grain is not always sown, so neither should the same dung be always used upon the same ground. This method is founded on sound philosophy. We know that the earth and dung are full of salts and oils, or unctuosities of various kinds, and other prolific qualities impenetrable to the human understanding. But reason and experience teach us that they do not all equally concur in the production of fruits. While some are in agitation, and exhaust themselves, others remain in inaction and are accumulated in virtue: for which reason the earth ought to be sowed with different kinds of seeds; which leaving the weakned salts at rest, attract those which they find in vigor and abundance. On the other hand, the earth being too often covered with

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with the same dung, becomes cloyed with a kind of salt and oil that predominates in that manure, so as not to be able to attract and incorporate them with her own: it cannot, therefore, but be very beneficial to furnish her with a new kind, for her fresh invigoration. For it may be easily conceived, that in dunged grounds, the salts and fat of the manure do not act separately from those of the earth, but may unite and incorporate together by the heat of the earth and sun, and the action of the air; which penetrating every where, diffuse through the whole mass, a certain nutritive fire and humidity, which are the life of all things.

To the knowledge of the different kinds of dung that agree with different lands, is joined the care of preparing them for the time at which they will be wanted. Experience will instruct the diligent farmer how long they ought to lay in the stall, and how long afterwards in the air, for their being brought to perfection. The dung being carried into the field, is laid, in small heaps, at a certain distance from each other, before it is spread: the spots where these heaps have been are easily known, by the peculiar plenty of corn they yield. It is, therefore, a very prudent method of fertilizing the land more equally, to multiply the number of heaps, and leave but few places of distance between them.

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THE farmer would expose himself to great loss, if in multiplying the heaps of dung, he should lay on more than the land may require : the corn, indeed, would spring up with great force, but the ears in forming would starve each other ; the straw would be flimsy ; the grain small ; the wind and rain would easily lay them ; nor would they be able to rise without great difficulty. The multiplication of heaps then, whereof we have spoken, consists in making them smaller than usual, that they may be nearer to one another.

If it be dangerous to dung a field to excess, it is not less so to underdo it with manure. When there is a scarcity of dung, which is a great misfortune (and which with a skilful farmer need never be the case, if what has been said be duly attended to) it is better to sow no more than a part of the land ; which can be well manured, than to lose the seed upon that which can have none, or to dung the whole so superficially that the harvest will scarce defray the expence of cultivation. However, as the loss will be visible, and attended with detrimental consequences for the ensuing years, the skilful farmer will, in due time, take proper measures for obtaining a sufficient quantity of dung, or seek for resources to supply the want of it from amongst the variety of those things which have been mentioned : and it is apprehended that we have enumerated sufficient, that he
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may practise some of them to advantage: but if he does not want water, or rain, and knows how judiciously to apply what has been intimated, he can never want good manure, let his situation be as it will; and when he tries things in miniature, he will not be backward in their execution in grand.

As the nature of the soil determines the time when the dung ought to be applied, so the nature of the dung prescribes the time and manner of putting it under ground. Cold land requiring hot dung, it ought to be laid on early, and quickly buried, lest it's virtue should evaporate; for the moisture of the earth is sufficient to complete the rotting. To hot and dry land fat dung is applied; in which there is no risk in carrying it out late, and leaving it some time on the land when spread, before it is covered. The sun, by acting upon this, facilitates it's putrefaction; and it attracts from the air a salt and nitre, whereby it's virtue is augmented; and it will be sufficient to till, when wanted to plough in. In the general, whatever dung or manure is used, or whatever the time may be when it is covered in, care must be taken that it is not buried too deep. It is near the superficies of the earth that the corn takes root, and there it should meet with the assistance of the manure, which is prepared for it.

WHAT has been said of dung in general may be applied to several kinds of those manures,

nures, which have been intimated : but it will be necessary to observe, 'that when ashes are scattered upon the land, there is no occasion to bury them : in remaining exposed to the air, the dews and the rain will dissolve their salts, which dissolution enters into a sufficient depth in the earth to answer the end intended ; and therefore they need not be buried.

ALL those various manures cannot be prepared in the same quantity ; and many will disdainfully reject those which cannot be collected at a small expence, and employed in large quantities : but without examining whether these notions may not proceed from indolence no less than ignorance, it may be observed, for the benefit of those who have but small means, and are not possessed of a sufficient quantity of dung, that in taking advantage of what has been said, in divers parts of these papers, they may, without much expence, find ways to fertilize their gardens without employing their dung ; and that may be wholly employed on their ploughed lands. They cannot but observe also, from these remarks, how easily they may encrease the strength as well as the quantity of certain manures. The small possessions of many, instead of discouraging ought, to animate them to bestow good culture upon their lands : they should reflect that persons in the midst of wealth are impoverished by negligence, while the poorest are enriched by industry and toil.

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THIS sketch upon agriculture extracted from the writings of those, who seem to have treated the subject most rationally, with our observations occasionally incorporated, is with no view to be thought to write expressly upon this subject, and, therefore, to give any thing complete upon this topic: no; that is not our intention; we mean no more by what we have observed on this head, than to show the advantage and utility that our country gentlemen may derive from the regular study of agriculture in all it's branches; in order to enable them to give profitable instructions to their tenants how to improve their lands to the best advantage. For, however much they may rely on the practical skill and experience of their tenants; it should not be forgot, that all the knowledge of the farmer, was originally derived from the philosopher; and it is upon him chiefly that the gentry must depend for all future improvement of the like nature: the philosopher must direct, the farmer execute: and to what a pitch of production the lands of Great Britain might be brought no one can presume to say; if gentlemen would make this an essential part of their study, or would take the proper measures to give due public encouragement to those who should devote themselves to it. To this end the gentry should not be backward in promoting the society before recommended, for the improvement of arts and trades, for the art of husbandry is not

less deserving of their care and protection than any other that can fall under their consideration. If gentlemen once delighted in this the noblest of studies *; if, after divine service, the parson should give the farmers a plain lecture in their style and language upon the arts of husbandry furnished them by the gentry; and put them upon trying miniature and unexpensive experiments; and if gentlemen themselves bore the extra-expence of such new trials upon certain parts of their estates, might they not very sensibly experience the benefit and advantage thereof? Why should not the parliament enable the society to give pieces of plate to encourage our farmers in husbandry in general, as well as the crown does in regard to the breed of horses only? We know in what high veneration the ancients held to encourage the breed of horses.

It is remarkable in the history of nations, that when the gentry have declined in their regard and attention to the arts of husbandry; and when they have deserted and abandoned the country, it has proved the forerunner of the destruction of those states and empires,

* I have not only heard, says Columella, that there are, but I myself have seen, schools of professors of rhetoric, and as I have already said of geometry and music; or, which is more to be wondered at, academies for the most contemptible vices, for delicately dressing and seasoning of victuals, for contriving and making up dainty and costly dishes for promoting gluttony and luxury; and I have also seen head-dressers and hair-trimmers; but, of agriculture, I have never known any that professed themselves either teachers or students. Lib. I. cap. 2.

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wherein such examples have so unhappily taken place. Before the declension of the Roman empire, their best authors lament, that the antient frugality, parsimony, temperance, moderation and industry, were no more in fashion, and, in a great measure extinct; and that unbounded luxury, ambition, covetousness, intemperance, and idleness, had succeeded in their room; that men of estates, who formerly resided much in the country, governed their own families, and managed their own affairs, had committed the management of all to bailiffs and stewards, and had, in a great measure, deserted the country, and lived in town, abandoning themselves wholly to its pleasures, and diversions; that the women, not as formerly, striving to excel in all parts of housewifry, and taking upon themselves the whole burden of domestic affairs within doors, were become so delicate, and such lovers of the town, that they could not endure to pass a few weeks in the country, and thought it greatly below themselves to cast their eyes upon the instruments of husbandry; that, instead of manufacturing wool and flax at home for their own family's use, as the celebrated Roman matrons were formerly wont to do, they could not endure home made clothes, but, by flattering caresses, obtained of their husbands such as were more costly; to purchase which, they often expended almost their whole yearly income; that men, by their dissolute and intemperate

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living, had so dissipated and wasted their natural strength, and their bodies were so enervated, that they were almost dead while alive, and death seemed to make no great alteration in them: so that they soon became useless both to themselves, and to their country: that many chose rather, by servile attendance, vain expectations, and fruitless solicitations, to consume their time, and their substance, than, by carefully improving and cultivating their paternal inheritance, and thereby raise for themselves a comfortable and honourable subsistence and revenue, free from all abject and slavish dependency. This shamful degeneracy from the virtue of their ancestors, and general corruption of manners, at length proved fatal to the Roman state; and, generally speaking, the same causes produce the same effects.

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DISSERTATION X.

The landed and trading interests connectively considered, and in what manner country gentlemen and planters may promote the benefit of their estates, in conjunction with that of the nation.

FROM what has been said, it is scarce possible that the landed gentleman should not glaringly discern how his own prosperity is intimately interwoven with that of the national commerce ; and that nothing can be more naturally conducive to both than the due improvement of every inch of his lands, according to what it shall be found to admit of. For the more useful and estimable productions the land affords, as objects of trade and merchandizing, the greater will be the gain of the land-holder, and the greater treasures will be brought into the kingdom from our foreign negoce.

It is not cultivating of lands at random, as is too much the case, that will best promote the interest of land or trade. Those interests are the best promoted by cultivating such things as commerce points out to be

the most beneficial to both. And how are these specific particulars to be known, but from the knowledge of trade; which informs us of our exports and imports, and of our trafficable intercourse with all parts of the globe?

THE increase of new productions for our home and foreign trade depends on the farther transplanting and communicating of the several natural commodities of all nations, to other airs and other soils, which may require different arts of husbandry from those of their original native soil: for want of the latter, many transplantations may prove abortive and unsuccessful, that might have been otherwise with the requisite management. For the art of husbandry and agriculture is extensive, and far from being hitherto brought, we apprehend, to its ultimate perfection; which seems from hence pretty evident, that there is no land so well furnished as to produce all the various sorts of things, which it is capable of receiving, by due cultivation; and many of the most fertile countries contain immense tracts that are utterly barren, for want of people and art.

THESE improvements depend chiefly upon various kinds of endeavours. Some are by transplanting out of one land into another, of the same situation, in respect of the heavens. This may be tried by conveying the eastern spices and other useful vegetables, into our western plantations. For it cannot
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be imagined, why, by the means of art and labour, they should thrive in one Indies, and not in the other; why the principles of vegetation should not prove as efficaciously operative where the sun sets, as where it rises; seeing there are parts of both, which lie under the same influence of that, and of the other celestial bodies; to whose kindly heat and neighbourhood, the oriental nations are presumed to owe their natural advantages arising from the surface as well as the internal bowels of the earth. But if there happens to be a difference in the soil, may not art, properly applied, as we have shewn in general in the last dissertation, supply that deficiency? May not the incorporation of soils, with the temperature of the proper manure, be productive in the West-Indies of divers of their most estimable vegetables in the east? Till well-conducted, and effectual trials are made, no one will presume to answer dogmatically in the negative.

IF, upon the proper trial, it should be found otherwise, it may possibly be attributed to other causes than what are generally apprehended; it may be owing to an essential difference in the subterraneous parts of the globe; for they may not be less various than their superficies: and those essential differences from the center to the circumference of the earth, may have a great or less effect and communication with the celestial influences; and consequently may

more or less affect the vegetable productions upon the surface; and, therefore, it may not necessarily follow, that the same vegetables should grow and flourish equally in the same latitude, where the sun sets, as where it rises.

WHEREFORE, to make a right judgment of the vegetable natures, and to know, as it were, *à priori*, where the exotics may be presumed to thrive, and where not; it may not be less necessary to scrutinize into the bosom of the earth for a considerable depth, than it is to consider the climate, or the external soil. If the internal parts of the earth in the West-Indies shall indicate the same criteria as those in the East in the same latitude; if the soil shall be found to be of the same heat and quality when properly examined into; and if the west shall not less abound than the east with kindly dews and rains, and other kinds of humidities; if islands, with their other natural circumstances, can be judged to produce the same, when surrounded by the sea, as lands on the continent may; if all circumstances, when duly weighed and compared, shall concur to promise fair to afford that in the west which is done in the east; then it will be imprudent not to make the trial, with respect to any thing of the vegetable kind that will prove beneficial to the interests of our land, or of our trade.

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THAT the internal structure and qualities of the earth have a visible effect on vegetation on the surface is apparent ; for the rise of the warm mineral exhalations discolours the trees or grafs of the place ; and when they are too powerful, may prejudice the vegetable natures, by parching their roots too much, and thereby so coagulating them as to undiſpoſe their radical fibres for the reception of that natural nutriment, which promote their growth and multiplication. This is the caſe when the mineral qualities lie too near the vegetable natures ; but when they happen to be at a greater diſtance, and encompassed with obſtructions, then the gradual rarefaction of their warm exhalations may aſſiſt inſtead of obſtruct vegetation. If the mineral natures, indeed, nearly approximate to the vegetable, and happen to be of the arſenical ſulphurous kind, the vapours may communicate ſome noxious, inſtead of ſalubrious qualities to vegetable nature, if they do not impede the growth. There are alſo mineral qualities, whoſe warm exhalations ariſe at a proper diſtance, that will help and expedite vegetation, and not injure but adminiſter additional virtues, perhaps, to vegetables : ſuch as theſe are all feruginous minerals, and other ſemi-minerals, as pit-coal, maganeſe, and divers innoxious ſulphureous ſoſils, &c.

HOWEVER pernicious many mineral vapours may prove to vegetation, if they too
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nearly approach the surface of the earth, and they exhale in too great abundance; yet the most pernicious seem to have a fermentative quality, that so opens and unbosoms the internal parts of the earth, that set at liberty her wholesome subterraneous fires, which conquer and subdue the insalubrious ones; whereby those wholesome, warm, subterraneous exhalations may no less contribute to vegetation than the sun and other celestial bodies: and, indeed, it should seem to appear, that without the subterraneous heat innoxious, and the constant rarefaction of its warm vapours, the vegetable tribe could not thrive so well by the mere solar and other celestial influences; for the essential use of the sun in nature, with relation to vegetation, seems to be to exhale, in conjunction with the terrestrial heat, that superfluous humidity from the earth, that would impede, instead of forwarding vegetation; but the greatest constant degree of heat that vegetables seem to receive appears rather to be owing far more to that of the earth than of the sun, or any other celestial bodies; for if the earth was absolutely destitute of its internal heat, perhaps no vegetables would grow at all, so as to increase and multiply their seed in the manner that nature has ordained. But to return to the application of these few words to the subject in hand; which is this:

If vegetation shall be found greatly to depend upon the heat which is concentrated
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and embosomed within the heart of the earth, such parts of the earth that may more abound with a terrestrial, concentrated, innoxious heat, than others do, may raise and produce vegetables by transplantation in climates much colder than those hot ones, where they are naturally raised; and where such subterraneous heat may not be so strong and potential as in hotter climates. And, perhaps, on examination, this may not prove an unnatural or irrational way of accounting for the growth of many vegetables in cold climates that were originally the natives of hot ones. If these principles should be found true, on experimental examination, this will afford great encouragement to British subjects to make trial on the growth and production of divers vegetables in the British dominions, that they might think impossible to thrive in them. England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as our American plantations, abound with a great plenty of warm and salubrious mineral and fossil natures; which may, in a great measure supply the place of solar and other celestial heats; and if such vegetables, which will prove beneficial to the nation to produce, and require a greater degree of heat than our climate will admit of from celestial influence, were tried to be produced upon soils that abound with proper subterraneous mineral heat, the effect might answer what it could not do upon other soils; however near they might seem to approach towards
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the quality of those soils wherein such vegetables thrive in their native climes and soils.

BUT here it should be observed, that although we would not wholly and absolutely depend upon the soil of the surface of the earth in our clime for the production of vegetables, which grow naturally in others of the same latitude; yet the due preparation of a surface soil is, by no means, to be disregarded; no more is that of a proper manure to be therewith duly incorporated: no, none of the essential particulars are to be neglected in the art of husbandry, in the making of new experiments; they are all to be tried as circumspectly and sagaciously, as if no regard whatever was to be paid to the subterranean heat; unless that by experience should in some places be found to be too violent, or too ineffectual: in such cases, the skilful husbandman will accommodate his manure accordingly, and render it hotter or colder, as has been taken notice of in the preceding dissertation.

NOR may it prove less material to intimate, that we should not be too suddenly discouraged from making our exotic vegetable attempts upon kindly mineral lands, from the unpromising appearance of the external superficial soil; for that may be gradually amended, and by proper composts made fit for the reception of the suitable manure and the seed intended to be sowed. First trials should be as little expensive as the nature of
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the case will admit; yet they should be effectual, or they will not prove fair trials. A small quantity of land, even a quarter of an acre, or less may be some times sufficient whereon to make experiments, that may prove lucrative, and lead to others more so.

AN objection to what has been said, may naturally arise in the mind of an attentive reader; viz. that in cold climes, the chill of the external air may make trials on exotic abortive in warmer, notwithstanding the extraordinary subterranean heat, or the propriety of the manure and the superficial soil, and the utmost stretch of art and industry in the husbandman. This may certainly prove the case in very tender vegetable productions; but in those that are something more robust, experience may probably prove, that those fears and apprehensions have been groundless; for the continued and perpetual rarefaction of the warm exhalations of kindly mineral earths, will greatly contribute to subdue the chilly quality of the circumambient atmosphere; for cold being a privation of heat, if the absence thereof is supplied by a warm and kindly nourishing vapour, it may, in a great measure, answer the end of a solar heat: such experience may, however, answer to good profit, if the production should not answer in so great quantities, as might be wished for.

NOR do some mineral lands only abound with concentrated heat, and the perpetual ascen-

ascension of warm rarefied vapours, but all kinds of lands do more or less abound therewith, though the strongest and most fixed mineral bodies have the most therein incorporated, and do continually attract from the solar system a greater quantity thereof than other sorts of earths, not so cohesive, nor so magnetical and retentive of heat as those substances are; and such consequently cannot emit and administer that constant degree of nourishing warmth to vegetables that the others do. Of the unmineralized lands, those which are found, when bored, to a good depth, with a black clayey soil, abound with the greater degree of heat; and if they come up moist, it will be a sign, that they abound with a certain degree of humidity sufficient to set their heat duly at liberty for the promotion of the growth of vegetables that may require a good degree of heat for that purpose.

IF the improvement of vegetation depends any thing upon the knowledge of the internal qualities of the land, why should not boring of lands prove as necessary to such discovery, as it is in the practice of minerology, for the discovery of mineral earths?

THOUGH I never observed, that the consideration of the inward quality of the bowels of the earth has been judged necessary towards the improvement of husbandry; yet it may be nevertheless requisite. But if it shall be found true on experimental trials, it may afford

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ford greater advantages than most are aware of; and that it is false no one will say, till he has proved it to be so. That the fumes issuing from vegetables are not less noxious than from minerals is certain, when we set them on fire; and there may not be so essential a difference perhaps, between the nature of vegetables and minerals as some may be wont to imagine. However, we restrain our remarks to the vapours of such minerals as are the least hurtful.

WHERE lands that abound with mineral qualities will turn to better account in researches of that nature than to apply them to vegetation, the latter will be neglected; though they both ought to go hand in hand; for small tracts of land that afford mines or coals may afford extraordinary profits, but not admit of being wrought, but to a certain extent: and the remainder of such lands, however unpromising, may frequently be converted to beneficial culture, upon the principles that have been suggested. But before we speak more in relation to the interior treasure of lands, we shall say a word more upon the point of transplantation from foreign climes; for this practice may be beneficially pursued as well with respect to animals as vegetables.

SOMETIMES the clime, the land, the soil, and the air, being changed, will give a new force to the new guests; as the Arabian steed, by mingling with our breed, produces a more serviceable race than either of them single.
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And sometimes the alteration will prove for the worse, which must be always guarded against ; as the vine of France brought into England, and the horses and dogs of England into France ; both which, as they have been hitherto managed, have been found to degenerate exceedingly. That the brute animals, as well as the vegetables, of particular climates, may be preserved, and some of them meliorated in regard to their skins, hides, hair, and wool, does not appear such a difficulty as some would make it, much less an impossibility, as many would have : but I leave that to the consideration of others.

ANOTHER way of this kind of improvement to be tried, is by transplanting the productions of the country from one part thereof into another, and by practising every where all the sorts of husbandry, which are used in some places with success. That this only is not enough practised in England, is manifest to every one that beholds the Kentish orchards, and the Herefordshire hedges, which seem to upbraid the indolence and supineness of other of our counties, whose highways are only fenced with thorns and briars, or with hazel ; while theirs are adorned and beautified with apples, pears, and cherries ; which will afford food, as well as salubrious liquors.

IN these transplantations that have been made, the chief progress that we have hitherto made, has been rather for the collections
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of curiosities, to adorn cabinets and gardens, than for the solidity of lucrative philosophical discoveries; yet certainly there may be a great advantage made in them all, both for the one and the other. And in this it will be found, as in many other things, that, if men only intend a little curiosity and delight, they will not reap much more by their pains; but if they regard real use, not only the profit, but a greater delight will also follow.

FOR our encouragement herein; whatever attempts of this nature have succeeded, they have greatly redounded to the benefit of the undertakers. The orange of china, being brought into Portugal, has drawn a great revenue every year from the city of London alone. The vine of the Rhine taking root in the Canaries, has produced a far more delicious juice, and has made the rocks and the sun-burnt ashes of those islands, one of the richest spots of ground in the world. And if Britons can produce silk, cochineal, and spices in their American colonies, might not this kingdom reap unspeakable emoluments thereby? If the silk-worm only should, at length, be effectually brought to thrive there, we may happen to give a great part of the silk cloathing to various parts of Europe, of our own produce, as well as manufacture. May we not, in some measure, conceive the extraordinary advantages that will attend this, by considering what number of caravans, and how many great cities in Persia are maintained

by that manufacture alone; and what mighty income it annually brings into the sophy's revenue?

By consulting our customhouse book of rates, the country gentlemen of this nation, and our planters in America, will be directed to variety of particulars, that, very probably, may be produced from British lands. Let any one run over the catalogue of the drugs and dying-woods, and other materials that we import from divers foreign countries; and it may easily be discovered, that the bulk of them might as well be produced in our own dominions, as in the countries where they are, if the state would once give proper encouragement for the purpose; and be assured that the encouragement given was faithfully applied. And while other nations shall diminish in the imports of British commodities, is it not the best way to avail ourselves by lessening our imports of theirs, by supplying ourselves with the like, or such as will effectually answer the like purposes as cheap as we can have them? Will not this prove a more natural way to restrain or prohibit such importations than the restraints of high duties or prohibitions; and thereby prevent national disputes and misunderstandings with other states? Or, will any one say, that it is the more eligible policy to pay twenty pounds for a foreign commodity for the sake of raising twenty shillings by a duty of customs to the revenue? Because our customhouse duties are

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mortgaged to the public creditors as a security for their debts, are we, on that account, to continue importers of those foreign commodities, till those debts are discharged, and never strive to produce those commodities within ourselves?

No man will presume to say, that it is more for the public benefit that the nation should expend a million or more a year with foreigners, in order to raise a hundred thousand pounds to the revenue by customs, than to save that million or more within ourselves, and raise only the hundred thousand pounds in some other way? And yet so strange it is, that this principle is really adopted by too many; and not by those only whose sentiments on those points should be disregarded, and even contemned, but really by those who would be thought to have a consummate knowledge in public business. While such men are employed in the service of the state, must not the nation expect every clog, every discouraging impediment and obstruction to improvements of our husbandry, our arts, or our manufactures? Is it not superlatively scandalous to hear men say, that the constitution of the revenue must, by no means, be infringed, though a small variation in the nature of it should save the kingdom millions? But if the national creditors will be better contented with another kind of fund-security than what they at present have; why should this, or the other member of parliament presume to gainsay it; and

affirm that the present state of the revenue shall be inviolably preserved, when it must prove the ruin of the nation?

WHEN the immutable state of the British trade and commerce shall be demonstrated, we may then think of rendering our laws relating thereto immutable likewise: but long and daily experience shews the impossibility hereof, and therefore the general maxim is to be condemned, good policy having often found it indispensably necessary to break through it: but this is a topic whose importance deserves a separate consideration by itself; which, perhaps, I may one day give it.—To resume the subject of our land-improvements.

WE having already spoken to the vegetable and animal parts of nature; and shewn the great probability of our national advances in these two great reigns of nature; it may not be improper to say a word upon the subterraneous kingdom of minerals and fossils; for this, no less than the other two, present us with innumerable articles, as the objects of trade and commerce, even from the diamond to the pebble, and from the gold to the iron. Here we must take things as nature has already prepared them to our hands: and how many gentlemen have enjoyed a larger estate under-ground within the compass of half a dozen acres, than they have above-ground within that of half a thousand? For this they have been indebted to the art of mineralogy,

logy, not that of husbandry ; and sure no gentleman should be ignorant of it and all its useful appendages.

THIS art instructs us in the ways of finding, judging, and digging of mines. Before this art can be practised to advantage, it requires no inconsiderable compass of knowledge ; it requires a competent skill in the nature, effluvia, and effects of mineral matters, whether earths, salts, sulphurs, stones, ores, clays, boles, marles, bitumens, gems, or metals. Nor should such an enquirer be unknowing in the various strata of the earth, nor unskilled in hydraulics, levelling, and mechanics : without which, the gentleman can never judge what mountain, plain, or valley is proper for his inquisition ; in what manner to search ; how the beds of ore will dip or run ; how water may be discharged that shall flow in upon his works, or how the general process of mining may be conducted at the least hazard and expence, and bring to day-light the treasure sought after. And here the landed gentleman must take to his assistance a skilful and experienced miner ; and not only so, but he must be faithful, or he may sooner impoverish than enrich his employer ; for they practise variety of deceits and impositions. The short and best way to deal with them seems to be to limit their working to a certain time ; and to induce them to work to the best of their knowledge, and the most expeditiously and

faithfully is to make it for their interest, by giving them an additional advantage, besides that of their labour, in proportion to the quantity of ore they shall be able to raise.

CERTAIN it is, that many have acquired large estates by mining, and many have been greatly injured by it ; but if gentlemen reside upon the spot, and have competent skill to guard against fraud and delusion, people may often stand a good chance of great gain for very little hazard.

BUT there are other subterraneous treasures that turn to no less profit than mines, and not liable to be attended with hazard or deceit ; we mean those of fine clays, sands, boles, marls, loams, and variety of curious and estimable fossils. In delicate clays the extensive art of pottery consists ; which is no contemptible branch of trade. Have not the Hollanders reaped great advantages by their Delft ware ? as well as the Chinese and Dresdeners by their porcelain manufactures, whose basis is no more than fine clays duly prepared, and artfully mixed and incorporated ? Gentlemen, who by their sagacity in things of this kind, may discover fine clays on his lands that will make a beautiful sort of earthen ware, may reap good advantage by it : nor have good sands proved less so for the glass manufactures ; and many marls and loams have answered to good purpose. A person not incurious in his searches into the fossile tribe, may have no occasion to
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repent of his curiosity. Even Bristol stones, spars, and talcs have turned to good profit, as well as certain mercasites, stones, salts, sulphurs, and gems. And the bowels of the earth are full of those treasures, and the surface generally affords their distinguishing characteristics, so as not to labour in vain. We daily import very expensive things from foreign countries, that are dug out of the earth, when we know not whether we may not have as good or better within ourselves.

BUT if these things are not discovered by accident, we are so wise as never to concern ourselves about them. However, it is to be hoped, that our society for the improvement of arts and trades will be enabled to promote and encourage those subterraneous enquiries; and will it not be for the interest of our country gentlemen to support and uphold such a corporation? For these discoveries must happen upon some lands, and no one knows to whose lot the prizes may fall; and, therefore, it will be but prudent in all, for their own sakes, no less than that of the nation, to encourage such like enquiries: and it is humbly submitted, whether researches of this nature, no less than other arts, might not, with propriety enough, be somehow placed under the direction and management of the proposed incorporated society for the improvement of arts, trades, and manufactures? It may also farther deserve consideration, whether the museum of the late Sir

Hans Slone, Bart. might not be rendered of great public utility, on this occasion, since it has been purchased by the public for the benefit of the nation ; and since it contains a great variety of the productions of nature and art ?

THE proper inspection and examination of this kind of repositories will afford numerous natural objects for traffic ; and the inventions of art may no less contribute to the promotion of commerce ; they offering hints for new improvements in mechanics and manufactures. By this musæum being now added to the collections many years made by our learned Royal Society, and put under proper care and management, it is not to be doubted but an incorporated society for the encouragement of arts and trades will be admitted, by authority, to make such use of those collections as will the best tend to the advancement of all commercial purposes. This society being established to see arts reduced to practice, as that of the Royal Society is for their invention and discovery ; the latter may be highly assisting to the former ; and the former see, that none of the important discoveries of the other go unnoticed, and only literally recorded in their transactions, and the author's pass unrewarded and unhonoured, except by those of their own taste, delicacy, and public spirit. Might not such a happy union be promoted and cemented by the authority of the legislature,

ture, between those two learned bodies, that might not only bring numberless new arts and new trades to light, but greatly improve the old? Regular conferences between those two learned and noble societies could not fail being attended with ineffable advantages to the trade and navigation of this kingdom; for such weight and dignity would a committee deputed by them have with a committee of the honourable house of commons, that no discovery or invention any way tending to the public interest, could be stifled, nor go unencouraged: but what the effects hereof might be, we have briefly described in our foregoing discourses, and therefore shall not here again expatiate thereon.

BEFORE I leave this point, it may not be amiss to observe, that the greatest repositories abounding with the works of nature and art, would prove of little benefit to the community, if they are to be considered as raree-shows only, or as collections for the virtuoso to ramble over, and merely to repeat the names of all the variety, as if he was really knowing in all the qualities, uses, and applications of these things in nature and art that are presented before him. The natural historian, and the collector of nature's works are very serviceable to a trading state, as they bring objects to light, which might be therein useful, and which otherwise might remain for ever hid from public view. The mere naturalist, who studies na-
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ture no farther than her outside, is not the most useful philosopher ; such a one would scarce be instrumental to the breeding of a lapidary, or a blacksmith, much less to the inventing of new manufactures and new arts tending to the emolument of the community. A Bacon, a Boyle, or Boerhaave, or a Shaw, would look upon the objects of nature with a far different eye to what the mere virtuosi do : many of them seem only to burden their memory with the names of things, and affect only to be knowing in their uses ; whereas the others would inform us of the qualities or beneficial applications thereof in all respects, and shew themselves to be thoroughly knowing, while the others only pretended to be so : the talents of such are less serviceable to society than the honest mechanic. Those curious and valuable repositories are made but a mean and trifling use of, if they are maintained with great shew and expence, only for the amusement of the superficial, who would be thought connoisseurs. But we have no reason to apprehend that this will be the case of the Sloanian museum, lately purchased, for the public benefit ; it being under the direction and management of so many honourable persons ; and especially many of those of the Royal Society, who have not only given ample testimony of their talents to make useful and important experiments upon the works of nature, but have

have applied them to no less useful and important purposes.

NOR are the collections with regard to the works of art to be less attended to in a commercial state; for having all curious machines, &c. properly ranged with relation to every distinct mechanic and manufactural art, and proper admission given to artists, they might, from deliberately inspecting those that had been invented, either make considerable improvements therein, or from thence derive such ideas as would enable them to discover new ones of different kinds.

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DISSERTATION XI.

The union of Great Britain and Ireland, considered.

ONE motive to the drawing up these papers is, the late great scarcity of grain, and the deplorable distress and calamity of the bulk of the people in consequence thereof. This is the greatest of national evils, and cannot be too effectually guarded against in future ; and no less than this, is the humble attempt of our present labours. Nor can the extent of our views terminate here only. A nation that shall be ever in a condition to feed and cloathe the hungry and the naked plentifully, can never want people ; people whose labour and industry will, in grateful return, administer an advantage to such a nation, in a tenfold degree more lucrative to it, than that which such individuals receive. But those consequences so gainful to the state, cannot take place without the wisdom of the state shall ever find full employment for the people, as they shall naturally encrease and multiply, and as they shall be attracted from other neighbouring coun-

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countries, where they cannot live so well ; nor be so well protected.

As an inducement to give our sentiments a fair hearing, we have pointed out the present precarious state and condition of commerce and navigation, by laying open the measures that the most politic and potent nations are now taking to supplant us in our trade in most parts of the globe ; and that this is principally owing to the ability of those nations to undersell us almost every-where. Can we then hesitate a moment about the reasonableness of removing this great impediment to our commercial prosperity ? Will any man say, that it is not desirable that England should be capable of selling her commodities to foreign states as cheap as any of her foreign competitors ? If the measures that I have adopted are inadequate to the end aimed at, let their deficiency be demonstrated, and let others be incited and provoked to offer such as will prove effectual. That I am ready to give up my own opinion on conviction of it's mistakes, has been repeatedly declared ; and I shall think it no less my duty to defend the sentiment of others, when theirs shall appear to be true and mine otherwise, than my own, while they shall not appear false to me.

If England shall be determined to take no effectual steps towards the reduction of the price of her produce and manufactures ; if, on the contrary, she shall pursue such as must inevitably more and more raise and enhance

hance the price thereof, both to her own people as well as to foreigners, it will be impossible for her to support her dominion in trade; and when that is lost, must she not fall a victim to that power which shall obtain it?

PROVIDED England will resolutely persist in not taking such measures as shall prove effectual to this great end; if England shall determine to make a sacrifice of her commercial interest, will it not be more politic to transfer it to Ireland than to France, and other potentates? In this case, England will still participate of the advantages; and this will be wiser than to give up the trade wholly to a foreign competitor. It will be far more eligible for England to become a colony to Ireland than a dependent province to France.

THAT Ireland is capable of underselling France at present is certain; and therefore that she is in a condition to prevent the trade of England being transferred to the enemy is not less certain: but then the state of England will be changed into that of Ireland, and that of the latter into the former: and, indeed, it is a happiness that Great Britain has some territories that are in a capacity to prevent the ruin of her commerce, if England herself is incapable of doing it. But that England is in a condition of maintaining her own commerce, as well in competition with that of other parts of her own dominions as with that of France, or any other state, we have

have endeavoured to make appear ; and, therefore, England may still uphold her supreme dignity over the rest of her dependent territories.

THE putting the quantity of land proposed in England into a state of cultivation, so as to be productive of the general benefits suggested to attend it, will certainly take up some years ; but the longer it shall be deferred, the more obstinate will our commercial maladies grow, and the longer time will be required to eradicate them ; and if the remedy, on due examination shall be found a sovereign specific for the disease, the sooner it is applied, the sooner shall we experience the happy effects.

THE other measure that we have humbly proposed to go hand in hand with the land-cultivation, is that of lessening, as soon as the circumstances of public affairs will admit of it, the taxes upon all those articles, which contribute to render our commodities dear to foreign nations ; and while the continuance of the aggregate total amount of those taxes shall be necessary for the support of the state, let them be laid in another modus ; let the incumbrance be so wisely laid and proportioned as to ease our foreign exports as much as may be, although we shall be obliged to burthen the expence of those in particular who can afford it.

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AND although this easement of the trade and navigation of England should occasion an additional temporary burthen upon those who can the best sustain the same ; yet the benefits, which England will thereby daily receive, will be so sensibly felt in other respects, by those who shall be so burdened, that they will not perceive it ; they will be soon made an ample, and a lasting compensation for the temporary incumbrance. For, if England shall by this means, retrieve that degree of commerce, wherein she has been supplanted by foreign rivalship : if England shall be once enabled to effectuate this, she will be capable of extending her traffic, and more universalizing the same over the whole world. And this extension of her commerce will so advance the wealth of the state, as to put it in the power of the government, not only to disincumber those who may have been loaded with a temporary incumbrance, but to exempt them from the like again ever after.

As to the manner of shifting of the taxes, to answer this purpose, there can be no more difficulty than to strike out ways and means to raise the supplies that shall be from time to time necessary ; for it requires no extraordinary depth to fall upon those things ; but it requires something more to fall upon those well-grounded principles of policy, whereon all ways and means for raising money for the public service should be grounded.

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BUT while these measures proposed are taking the effect desired, it may be said, and reasonably enough, perhaps, that England may lose her whole trade rather than to do that; and is it not better that Ireland should be put into possession of such parts of it, wherein she is capable of selling her commodities upon a level with France, and indeed of underselling her? Certainly every unbiassed man, must readily acquiesce in the affirmative.

WELL then, says the Englishman, here is an end of *all* the trade of England; for if once the Irish are admitted to engage in those branches of trade, wherein that kingdom can underwork, and, therefore, undersell England at foreign markets; will not the Irish creep gradually into all other branches of the English commerce; since the gaining of one considerable branch naturally tends to the acquisition of others? To this it may be answered; that although England should admit Ireland into some certain share and proportion of her trade, wherein Ireland shall be capable of supplanting the French and others, and England is not; Ireland might still continue restrained in such other part as England shall be capable of carrying on in competition with France, till England shall be able to sell as cheap as Ireland and France: and then England and Ireland becoming on a parity in her trade, this will, as has been before observed, be the happy point of time,

when the complete union between Great Britain and Ireland might take place to the mutual advantage of all the British dominions.

BUT if such a partial and restrictive union between England and Ireland should take place to prevent foreign nations from ruining our trade ; it would be but just and reasonable for Ireland, in consideration of reaping such additional advantage, to contribute to the state expence of England in such a reasonable degree as should be something proportionable to the gain of Ireland thereby. For although England has very liberally hitherto paid as it were, all the charges of government ; our fellow subjects in Scotland paying but a trifle to the general support, and Ireland and the plantations paying very little also ; yet this system must be changed, when Ireland shall be admitted even to a partial union only ; and when to an absolute one, then she must expect to bear her full proportion towards the general state-expence. This, likewise, must be the case of Scotland, as that nation shall thrive in her commerce and her fisheries ; but England must give her dependent brethren time to thrive before she lays too ponderous a burden on their shoulders, lest they should sink under the weight, and all that has been many years doing, should, of a sudden, be all undone.

IF then it shall be judged reasonable, that Ireland should, upon the conditions before intimated, add to the coffers of England
in

in some certain degree and proportion, this will tend to the easement of the English, in proportion to the temporary disadvantages she may be supposed to sustain : and here, we beg leave to caution the reader, not to run away with a mistake : viz. by apprehending, that if Ireland should be admitted to some additional benefits of trade in common with England, that this is intended to be done at the expence of England : no ; on the contrary, we take it for granted, that it will be at the expence of France in the end ; because England will be capable of competing with and underselling even France, which England never can, till she shall be able to do so likewise as well as Ireland : so that the advantages that Ireland are presumed to obtain, are at the expence of France and others, not at the expence of England. This I have mentioned again once for all.

IRELAND then, in consideration of certain concessions made to her on the part of England, being admitted to exert herself to support a competition in trade against our foreign rivals, and being in some degree to contribute to the state expence of England ; this may prove of no less advantage to the easement of the taxes of England than benefit to Ireland : for, supposing that Ireland by exerting her competition in trade against foreign rivals should thereby gain a nett million per Annum ; would it not be well worth the while of Ireland to give up to England one half part of

this annual gain for the sake of the other, which she cannot obtain without it? It certainly would.

Now, England, thus receiving half a million yearly revenue from Ireland, will enable her to take off half a million per Annum of her taxes that are at present laid upon such necessaries of life as contribute to render her commodities so dear that she is incapable of maintaining a rivalry against France and others: and the security to the public creditors to be paid out of the Irish revenue would not prove less certain than that given on the consumption of certain commodities in England: besides, the public creditors having always the parliamentary security of England as well as the collateral one of Ireland, they would hardly think this any disadvantage to the public credit. Thus lessening the taxes of England, and at the same time advancing in the cultivation of her lands, will sooner than might at first, perhaps, be apprehended, put Great Britain into the happy state and capacity of maintaining a competition in trade effectually with France, and all other nations; and, especially so, with the conjunctive aid and assistance of Ireland, and Scotland; and what also may be done by means of the British plantations, as we have before endeavoured to evince.

HERE then will be another advance towards *perfecting* the desirable union between Great Britain and Ireland; but till England shall

shall be in full capacity to sell her commodities to foreigners as cheap as Ireland can, Ireland, we presume, cannot think it at all unreasonable in England to insist upon some equivalent, to be admitted to such a partial union in commerce with her, as has been above suggested; for my humble endeavours are intended to show, if it be possible, how all his Majesty's dominions may be made to contribute to the prosperity of each other, and that of the whole, in the end. And here it will be necessary to observe, lest what I have said in this dissertation may be thought repugnant to what is done in some preceding; that although it might prove more interesting to the whole British empire, for the legislature so to regulate the respective trades of every part, that they might clash and interfere, with each other, as little as may be; as the woollen manufactures to be restrained to England; the linnen in all it's branches to Ireland and Scotland, &c. as I have in other parts of this tract sufficiently enlarged on: yet, when Great Britain and Ireland, should be brought to that equality, in their sales at foreign markets, their rivalry in some articles amongst each other, may be attended with advantages to the whole; for they being all emulously struggling to beat foreign rivals out of the trade at foreign markets, they will so excel in the quality of their fabrics of every species, that they cannot fail getting such possession of the trade of the world as may well

content the whole empire: and when we have got such possession thereof, which will support our kingdom, as a free and independent state, we have nothing then to do, but, to think of preserving the possession we have so wisely obtained: and the ever-lasting way to do this will be to make better goods and sell them cheaper than any other nation can afford to do—This, and this only is the natural and the permanent way: this and this only has maintained the Chinese empire in it's commerce: and if Great Britain will establish her temporal salvation upon a rock invincible, we are willing to believe, that we have shewn how this may be done in the course of our writings; which posterity, perhaps, may value more than my present contemporaries.

CERTAIN it is that hitherto England has, at her own expence, maintained the balance and liberties of Europe at the risk of her own, and it has cost Scotland and Ireland scarce any thing; all that we have endeavoured is to starve them without expence, and ourselves with: we bleed ourselves almost to death, and think, as some ingenious author observes, to recruit our own spirits by devouring three or four millions of Scots, Irish, and Americans, and by excess of cunning make the ruin general.

A SMALL consumption for goods makes a small demand, and a small demand makes a small price for any commodity; so that when the wisdom of our laws is magnified to prevent

prevent the importation of cattle, &c. from Ireland, or corn from any nation, unless it first bears an immoderate price at home (as keeping up the temporary value of lands) how would a Hollander or a Frenchman smile, when he reflected, that in his country the poor getting provisions from any place, where they can have them cheapest, are thereby enabled to work at prices the English cannot live on, and by working cheaper work more; that is, run away with their trade, their money, and their manufacturing people; and when these are gone, we may as well present them with the lands into the bargain, for any value they will be of to England.

IT may now be useful briefly to consider what advantages Great Britain, may reap, upon the footing we have endeavoured to put the matter, by extending her favours to this part of her dominions.

AND first, as to her woollen trade; it is to be observed, that the encouraging it in Ireland, would be the immediate way to recover it out of the hands of her rivals, the Dutch, French, and others, who have got too large a proportion of it out of her hands. As England lost it chiefly by destroying it in Ireland, she may retrieve it, till she is able to do it herself, as we have shown, by restoring it in Ireland: as she lost it by her rivals underworking and underselling her, it is plain, she must regain it by employing the Irish, who

can undersell all the world : as England has lost it by the high taxes and high living of people, she must recal it by letting the Irish share with her in the profits, who have no taxes on their milk and potatoes, and live poorer than any manufacturers in Europe, (France not excepted) where though wages are low, victuals are dearer than in Ireland.

IF once they are encouraged, they will run no wool to France, or Holland (or so little, and that so dear, as can never quit costs) because it will be against the laws of self-preservation, it being a robbery on the Irish themselves : and without a proper stock of wool, the French and Dutch manufacturers must lose the greatest part of their foreign woollen trade, and the bulk of the Irish gains will return to England, while that continues the seat of the British empire. This is self-evident, and nothing but a partial and impolitic self-interest, can silence so palpable a truth ; and that self-interest chiefly of the shop-masters, the wool-combers, and weavers in England, who must by this means lower their lands and their wages, till they shall be able to work as cheap as the Irish. England, in short, is reduced to this ; she must either lower their lands, and work cheaper, till in conjunction with Ireland, they shall have retrieved the trade out of the hands of their rivals ; or go on, and let the French and Dutch receive it, and sink their lands, and their labour together for-ever.

THE

THE jealousy the English seem to have of the Irish is the great obstacle to their own prosperity. Cannot this jealousy be remedied by confining the Irish, at present, to such manufactures alone as the English cannot retrieve themselves? By confining them to cloths of a particular breadth or fineness, to cloth undied, to ratteens, draps, kerfies, &c. or to cloths but half manufactured, and which may receive their full perfection in England, and only to be bought and used there, or exported thence by themselves? Cannot these things be done, till England shall be able to work as cheap as the Irish? Would not then the whole of the woollen manufactures be restored to the English, by the auxiliary cheap skill and labour of the Irish, their own fellow subjects?

ANOTHER advantage, according to the partial union, that England might reap by Ireland, is opening the plantation trade freely to them, at least as to molasses and sugar. These being part of the enumerated goods, Ireland, as the law now stands is obliged to enter and land them in England before they can land them in Ireland. This is of great prejudice to the British colonies in America, in as much as to avoid the costs and danger, and loss of time of two distant voyages, the Irish will sail directly to the French ports, and furnish themselves with their brandies and sugar without daring to meddle with those of our own colonies. Is it not apparent that this must injure Great
Bri-

Britain? as whatever weakens her colonies, must lessen her gain by them? As Ireland does not pay less annually to the French than 150,000 l. for those commodities, this would be given to our own colonies, and at length center in England.

BUT the misfortune is, that England does not only lose this benefit, which they might thus make by the Irish trade, but our ancient enemies the French are the gainers, and have the advantage of purchasing Irish provisions extremely cheap, by their intercourse of trade, and of being thereby enabled to undersell the English in the sugar trade in Europe. As these are great disadvantages to Britain, and affect us more than the Irish, they should be remedied, especially in regard to the articles of sugar and molasses, for their own consumption. As to the re-exportation, that matter might remain as it does, till the perfect union.

IT is allowed on all hands, that till the prohibition of Ireland carrying non-enumerated goods without landing in England, was taken off, Ireland was obliged to pay 100,000 l. per annum at least to foreigners, for pitch, tar, &c. which is now laid out with our own fellow-subjects; and is there not reason to believe that the like good consequence would attend the same in relation to some enumerated commodities, especially those spoken of, molasses and sugar?

“ AFTER

“ AFTER the act in England, says Sir
 “ William Temple, had wholly stopped the
 “ transportation of cattle from Ireland to
 “ England, that trade of Ireland was forced
 “ to find out a new channel; a great deal
 “ of land was turned to sheep, because
 “ wool gave ready money for the English
 “ markets, and by stealth for those abroad *.
 “ The breeders of cattle turned much to
 “ dairy, or else by keeping their cattle to
 “ six or seven years old, and wintering them
 “ dry, made them fit for the beef trade
 “ abroad; and some of the merchants fell
 “ into care and exactness in barrelling them
 “ up; and hereby the improvements of this
 “ trade were grown so sensible in the course
 “ of a few years, that in the year 1669,
 “ some merchants in Holland assured me,
 “ that they had received parcels of beef out
 “ of Ireland, which sold current, and very
 “ near the English; and of butter which
 “ sold beyond it; and that they had ob-
 “ served it spent as if it came from the richer
 “ soil of the two.” Although the Dutch
 war at that time gave a sudden damp to this,
 and all the other trades of Ireland; yet the
 Irish have since been great gainers, instead of
 losers, by the act against the transportation
 of the cattle into England.

* This act contributed greatly to establish the practice of
 wool-smuggling from Ireland to France, which has proved
 so detrimental to the trade of England.

THIS law gives a monopoly to a few breeding counties in England to impose upon the rest of the people high prices of cattle, &c. to the ruin of our manufactures ; it forces labourers to live dear, and of course to raise their wages, and is greatly prejudicial to our navigation ; for whatever enhances the expences of a ship, enhances its freight, and gives opportunity to foreigners to victual cheaper in Ireland than we can do at home.

THOUGH it should be objected, that this is done to keep up the value of our English lands ; yet Sir Matthew Decker seems to have taken off the weight of this objection, by observing, “ That there is always a great
“ noise made about encouraging the home-
“ consumption ; by which is meant making
“ necessaries bear a great price, which can
“ arise only from an improper knowledge of
“ the true nature of trade ; for this is so far
“ from being beneficial, that it has just the
“ contrary effect : certainly the less is con-
“ sumed within †, the more will be left to
“ export ; the cheaper things are, the more
“ of them will be exported, and it is export-
“ ation only that makes a nation rich. This
“ monopoly, with respect to the people, is
“ unjust, and the benefit of it to the land-

† According to our principles of land-cultivation, &c we shall encourage the home-consumption, as well as the increase of people ; and yet have always plenty enough for exportation at cheap rates.

" holder only imaginary: as for instance,
 " A hath a grazing estate; to raise the value
 " of which, all cattle from Ireland are to
 " be prohibited: A having the sole market,
 " raises the price of his cattle upon the rest
 " of the people, B, C, D, down to Z,
 " twenty-three in number, and their pockets
 " are to be emptied only to fill his; a very
 " equitable project indeed! But though these
 " people were as blind as puppies, yet necessity,
 " and the natural course of things, will
 " force them to retaliate upon him; for as
 " monopoly raises the price of cattle, their
 " dearness raises the price of labour, and
 " dear labour makes dear goods: so that
 " the food, cloathing, utensils, labour, and
 " every thing else that A wants, comes dear
 " to him; an imaginary value is given to
 " every thing: so that though A should
 " have more rent for a time (which yet the
 " decline of foreign trade must bring down
 " afterwards) the money he receives is of
 " less value, not going so far, or being able
 " to purchase so much, as when goods bore
 " their natural value only; whereby, what
 " he thinks he puts in with one hand, is
 " pulled out by the other; it is all a deception
 " visus, setting people together by the
 " ears to prey upon one another; letting
 " foreigners, in the mean while, eat the
 " bread out of their mouths; for a nation
 " that adds an artificial value to its commodities,
 " by monopolies, cannot export them

" in

“ in such quantities to foreign ports, where
 “ they are rivalled by those that bear only
 “ their natural value ; and their home-con-
 “ sumption will likewise sink in price by
 “ the nation’s having less money brought in
 “ by foreign trade ; such a two-edged sword
 “ are monopolies to lands.”

THESE have been some of the many bad effects attending the present want of union between Great Britain and Ireland ; and this has been lamented by many of the best English patriots, as well as the most judicious writers, and ablest statesmen, who have declared themselves publicly in favour of a union between them ; and as Ireland has of late years been very assiduous in the improvement of their people, their country, and their wealth, so they will bring a better portion than they could formerly, in order to advance that political match.

NOTHING but the apparent expediency and benefit of an union could have made Cromwell take such steps as he did in this matter. The Saxon heptarchy was hardly a more disjointed heap of states than England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland seemed before Wales and Scotland were so happily united to her as they now are ; and as Ireland has greatly the advantage of both the last in extent and goodness of soil, trade, and number of people ; it is not improbable, when all the requisite preliminaries necessary thereto that we have hinted, are taken by England, that
 Ireland

Ireland will also be joined in the general union. Certain it is, that when such previous steps are taken, there can no objection be made against uniting Ireland, which would not hold as strong against the other two. Bodies politic, like natural ones, are so far strong and potent, as all their limbs are firmly knit and well united, and equally fed and nourished; and while Ireland shall continue excluded from the favours, rights, and privileges, which her fellow-subjects in England, Wales, and Scotland so happily enjoy, she cannot prosper herself, as she otherwise would do, and therefore cannot so much contribute, as she might, to the general wealth, strength, and security of the whole state. The addition of 16,800,000 acres of land (English measure) generally fruitful, and inhabited by two millions of people, would prove no inconsiderable augmentation to the wealth and power of Great Britain; if we reflect how fully, from such a union, all those hands would be employed; how their joint tillage, their trade, and manufactures would encrease in quantity and quality by the means submitted in these papers; how an universal spirit of industry and ingenuity will spread itself through the whole British empire, and rouse and animate our traders of every rank to vie with and excel those of the whole world: if we dispassionately weigh these things, a union will appear, in every view desirable by both kingdoms.

As

As our sailors would then find little rest in our ports, so our poor would be effectually set to work and employed, and of consequence, the power, wealth, and stock of the three kingdoms be wonderfully encreased, and our lands in general every where rendered more valuable. Ireland, in such case, would soon be enabled to pay a million a year towards the taxes of Great Britain, besides the full support of their own establishment. And would not this, in times of war, greatly contribute to raise the supplies within the year? And in times of peace, might not this, with an addition of a million more on the part of Great Britain, be appropriated as an inviolable DEBT-PAYING FUND, for the redemption of our public incumbrances? Moreover, the scenes of universal trade, navigation, and commerce that I shall endeavour to point out, both in a public and private manner, will find full employment for the money as the public debts shall become discharged; whereby the national creditors will be no way injured in their properties. And is not this the essential preparatory to the discharge of our public debts? Nor can they be ever justly and honourably discharged upon any other principles, but those of extending our commerce.

NOR would such an union occasion a small accession to the naval power of Great Britain, it being reasonable to believe that Ireland would

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would be enabled, in such case, thereby to assist England with 12,000 if not 15,000 seamen in times of need; which would be a matter of no little importance, where the difficulty of manning a royal navy with expedition, or finding sufficient employment for sailors in time of peace, is so well known. A union of this kind once happily adjusted and regulated between the two nations, all our fears and apprehensions of future wars or rebellions in Ireland or England would entirely vanish; and we should experience, in a few years, by a mixture of people and interests that Ireland became as entirely an English and protestant country, as Wales and Scotland are. As England does already possess no inconsiderable share of the lands of Ireland; so the union would prove an effectual method to vest the rest in her; for as the riches of Ireland would chiefly return to England, she continuing the seat of empire, the Irish landlords would be little better than tenants to her, for allowing them the privilege of making the best of their estates. It has cost England much blood and treasure to rear up Ireland fit for the desirable union; and to neglect to make a proper use of her, for the mutual encrease of their trade and navigation, is no less imprudent, than if a wealthy merchant should be at the charge of building a ship, and then let her rot in port, rather than be at the pains of employing her. When this shall

come to be the case, instead of considering the two nations as rivals, and the Irish as enemies to the British trade, Ireland might, by due regulations, be rendered a great support to the English empire; and instead of being a burden, might greatly encrease our general prosperity, and extend our naval dominion.

WHENEVER a matter of this consequence shall be attempted in earnest, we may be assured, that whatever representatives shall be allowed to Ireland as their just proportion; or whatever limitations or restrictions may be judged absolutely proper for the common good to tack to it, every thing will be conducted consistent with those general principles whereon it should be founded, the general advantage and welfare of the whole; and possibly we may experience, that the union of the seven provinces of Holland have not affected the trading world more in the last century, than the union of these three nations would in this.

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DISSERTATION XII.

The foregoing subject farther considered.

WE might urge many arguments, which are to be met with in the writings of different authors at different periods of time, to enforce the short hints that have been before offered ; but I shall confine myself, at present, to those only, who have touched on this topic, from the beginning of the reign of queen Anne to the present time ; omitting, for brevity's sake, such matter as was more consistent with the circumstances of their times than of the present.

THE first author that I have met with, deserving our regard, is the judicious Sir Francis Brewster, who wrote in the year 1702 : an abstract of which I shall give to the reader, with such variations as I think pertinent at present.

SOME things, says this patriot-spirited gentleman, that might, if under consideration, settle the kingdom of Ireland so as to secure for ever that kingdom and its trade in the interest of England, which is of the greatest importance to the English nation ; and being

so, I shall not prescribe how it may be done, but only offer such matter, that may, perhaps, lead to that which the great council of the nation may one day think worthy their deliberation: they are as follow:

FIRST, I suppose it a fundamental truth allowed by all, that since Ireland is above water, England cannot be safe, if that kingdom should be in any hands but her own.

WE shall now submit these things that seem essential to preserve that kingdom in English hands; for we make a great difference betwixt Ireland being under English government, and English inhabitants: it may be under the first, and yet not safe, if not under the latter.

I CANNOT see how England could withstand all the neighbours that surround her, if Ireland had a balance of other people than English: and, therefore, I should think, that though we would not make that kingdom a treasure, yet we would make it a citadel for defence against foreigners; and then, I presume, we should not make it a garrison for strangers. I come then to offer what, I conceive, will lay the foundation for securing that kingdom to England; and that is,

By act of parliament, to unite Ireland to England.

I PRESUME this will meet with objections; but I never heard more than two. First, It is observed that this may endanger
England

England in its constitution : the members of Ireland may be a dead weight, and may be, through poverty or otherwise, made ill use of, if we should fall under an unfortunate reign.

To this it is answered, that the same may be said of Wales, or even of separate counties ; but it is hardly possible that any part of the English constitution should join in that which endangers the whole.

IRELAND, by a union, would be then England, and doubtless no less fond of their liberties ; perhaps more apprehensive of them than England ; Ireland having known the want of them.

It would be a reflection, which I always avoid, to mention particulars, but, doubtless, English laws, and the habeas corpus act, would be thought a blessing in that kingdom, and what their own interest would lead them to : their numbers would not prove dangerous, if but two-and-thirty members for the two-and-thirty counties.

THE other objection is, that if Ireland was united, they would have equal liberty of trade with England. To which it is answered ; That doth not follow : they may be better restrained by the union, than they can be under the constitution they are at present. For although England may now make laws for them, yet they in Ireland are judges and executioners of them ; and how far they will enforce laws against the interest of their

country, is submitted: but when they are made by their representatives here in parliament, and liable to be questioned here, if not observed, the case will then be altered.

AND there wants not precedents of the parliament of England's restraining some parts of England from trade and navigation that they allow to others; as that of the importation of Irish wools, which was many years admitted to particular parts of England only: so, in some cases, it is in the united provinces, and yet they unite in the states general: and though we follow not that commonwealth in its government, yet it is to be wished that we regarded their example in many points which relate to trade and navigation.

I NOW pass to the advantages that England would receive by uniting Ireland: for many I shall only mention four.

FIRST, by thus uniting Ireland to England, that kingdom will bear part of the taxes, which it never did; though, in time of naval wars, the ships of England have always protected their coast as much as they have done those of England, and convoyed their merchantmen.

SECONDLY, This uniting Ireland would prevent future rebellions, which that kingdom was never long free from; and which always cost England much blood and treasure to reduce: and we may add, that the union would greatly contribute to prevent
future

future rebellions in England, and invasions in time of war from our ancient enemy.

KEEPING Ireland a separate kingdom, hath supported the Irish in the pretence of their right to it; and whenever they have opportunity, call their parliaments, and make laws; but if they were abolished, and the kingdom united with England, we should become one people; which we never can be, though we are one blood, while we live under different laws and government. Suppose, as I think they are, under some kind of despotic power, which some believe give us an advantage over them; yet it is dangerous to England, and may bring us under the same misfortune; for men that are without hope of English liberty, will naturally join in that which will bring others under the same subjection.—It is nothing like the case in Ireland at present, to what it was in Sir Francis's time; for although the spirit of popery and disaffection is still too prevalent in that kingdom, yet the face of the whole country is no less changed in this respect than in regard to the state of its trade: but if a union takes place, this cannot fail to prove the effectual step to eradicate all principles that may be hurtful to the British constitution; and contribute greatly to render the same more and more invincible. For,

THIRDLY, Uniting the kingdoms would make the English nation more formidable: none, I presume, would deny that England

would be more feared abroad, and safer at home, if it were twice as great, and that Ireland was one continent with it.

Now, in my humble opinion, it is possible to make it so in effect; and of better use than if it was so in reality.

THE great security and treasure of the English nation depends on their navigation, under which is comprehended fisheries, manufactures, &c. Continents, therefore, never can be so much and so beneficially engaged in traffic as islands so happily situated as Great Britain and Ireland, and no less happily governed: long land-carriage makes commodities dearer for exportation; so that if Ireland were one continent with England, we should not only lose the benefit of cheaper water-carriage, but lose the advantage of sea-employments for our men; in which we cannot exceed.

BUT as Ireland now stands, and was united, it is possible to make it a nursery for the employment of twelve or fifteen thousand seamen more than now we have: and of what consequence that will be, we may judge from the number of our seamen, who, in times of peace, run into foreign service to get bread: and it is a melancholy observation, that we want seamen in time of naval war; and yet we have not full employment for them in times of peace. But Ireland being united and established as it might be, would not
only

only employ all we have, but breed more and more daily.

FOURTHLY, Uniting Ireland to England seems the most effectual way to prevent the English manufacturers from going to foreign parts, as they have greatly done of late years to our unspeakable detriment. But a union will alter the course of such who are invited into foreign parts. Men will then, as they do now, only change from one country to another to mend their fortunes. But such as have any thing that makes a property, are not willing to go where there is none; but by going into Ireland, lose the birth-right of an Englishman.

IT was thought a politic institution of the Romans to give liberty to the remotest conquest to purchase the liberty of a Roman. It shews a narrow understanding, to believe the nation cannot be supplied in their trade and manufactures but by cutting off a limb from the body: do we not so, if he that lives in Ireland is treated as a foreigner?

I SHOULD rather think it the interest of England to give extraordinary privileges to Englishmen that would go and plant there, and to turn the tables; take from Ireland the naturalization act, and bring it here; exchange Englishmen for foreign protestants; their number here cannot overbalance; in Ireland they may.

I WOULD

I WOULD not mean, that all the privileges and immunities that England hath in trade and manufactures, should be allowed to Ireland; but only encouraged in such a way as will advance England in theirs. It seems the misfortune of both kingdoms, that whilst new methods and *new* arts are used by all our neighbours to improve and secure their trade, we should content ourselves with the *old*, and are only *new* in contriving how to render Ireland more mischievous to us. Certain it is, that the trade of Ireland has never been conducted so well as it might be to the benefit of England. If the trade and navigation of Ireland were under the consideration of the parliament, I am persuaded that all jealousies might be removed, and Ireland made easy to itself, and less injurious to England; for then they would be able to make suitable returns to England, for their expence in so often recovering their kingdom.

THESE considerations may prove sufficient motives for a British parliament to bring Ireland under their care in other methods than it ever yet has been; especially so, since we can never hope to be free from the perfidious machinations of France to destroy the trade and liberties of both. *Vis unita fortior*. A union, and nothing but that, can remove all fears, and blast the designs of our common enemies. The force and interest of Ireland will be one with England; and then it will
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prove no longer a trouble or charge, but a help and advance-guard to England.

By a retrospect of the benefit that the trade of England has received by means of Ireland, under all disadvantages, we may form a judgment how further beneficial it might be, under the advantage of a union. The importations from Ireland into England from the year 1675 to the year 1681 inclusive, and from the year 1695 to the year 1698, according to the customhouse accounts, amount to 333,698l. 9s. 5d. and the exports from England to Ireland, in the same time, amount to 293,813l. 13s. 6d. so that England hereby appears to have lost by the Irish trade 40,154l. 15s. 11d sterling per annum. But this way of striking the balance of trade is erroneous, because some importations enrich a kingdom, as those commodities which are imported and exported again: so do those importations that are manufactured in the kingdom. Wherefore, in order to make a right estimate in the balance of trade, is to have the particular species of all commodities before us; whereby may be seen what is profitable and what detrimental to the nation.

BUT the exports from England to Ireland, in the first six years, ending in 1681, amounted to 346,800l. sterling per annum; and the imports from Ireland into England amounted to 231,554l. sterling per annum. By this account,

account, according to the vulgar way of judging of the balance of trade by the mere custom-house account of the exports and imports, England may gain by the trade of Ireland 115,286 l. whereas it is by the first-mentioned account for the year 1698, a loser of 40,154 l. 15 s. 11 d.

THE commodities that are exported from England to Ireland are, for the greatest part, either the manufactures or the native product of England, and are consequently clear gains to the kingdom; which cannot be said of any other trade belonging to England. Those who would satisfy themselves with a detail of the respective commodities imported and exported to and from Ireland from the period above-mentioned, may consult Sir Francis Brewer's *Essays on Trade*; which shews how the trade of Ireland stood in the reign of king Charles II. The next account for four years, shews how it stood in the year 1698.

THAT the exports of Ireland should, in six years, exceed 413,491 l. 8 s. 2 d. of what they were in 1681, is extraordinary, being almost as much as the whole exports of Ireland before the wars; but this was owing to the following circumstances of affairs; for most of their exports being provisions, the foreign demand for them is governed by their harvests, vintages, &c. as is from hence demonstrable: in the year 1697, the exportations of corn amounted to 45,000 sterling; whereby

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whereby, before, that there were frequently importations of corn into Ireland. The exports of butter also are casual; when the olives in Spain have failed, then butter is in great demand there from Ireland: but much of their exports of butter depend upon the markets of Holland, and Flanders, and they are governed by war.

A PROPORTION of the exports of Ireland were manufactures, and that by Sir Francis's account, for the year 1681, amounted to 582,814l. sterling, of which there was of the yarn manufacture, &c. to the amount of 69,000l. sterl. and to the amount of 12,000 l. in linen yarn, and 3000 l. sterling in woollen yarn; all which was manufactured to great advantage in England; the rest of the 69,000l. was 50,000 l. in frizes, much of which was imported into England, and improved by new dressing and napping; so that there remained of all the Irish manufactures exported, but to the value of 4000 l. sterling: this is the fact as the account stood in the reign of Charles II.

THE importation of Ireland for the year 1681 stands thus. Their importation in general, amounted to 433,040l.; of which 3468000l. were from England, and but 86,000 l. from foreign parts; and of them, a part should be excluded the account.

In 1625 the exports of Ireland amounted to 265,562 l. 1 s. 2 d.; of which, there were in manufactures to the value of 30,463 l. 7 s. 6 d.;

6 d. ; whereof, it is observable, that 20,075l. was of linnen and woollen yarn ; whereas before the wars, when Ireland was in it's greater prosperity, there was, as before intimated, but to the value of 15000 l. sterling in those commodities.

THE exports of Ireland amounted to 391,524 l. 7 s. 1d. sterling ; whereby it appears, that the balance was to the loss of Ireland, 95932 l. 5 s. 11 d. sterl.

IN 1696 the exports of Ireland amounted to 398,237 l. 7 s. 5 d. ; of which there was in manufactures, and in those, in particular, of linen and woollen yarn 12,000 l. sterling in linen, and 5208 l. 7 s. in frize ; all which was no less to the benefit of England, than if it had been their own, and in some respects more, because they cost them nothing in a manner.

THE imports of Ireland in the year 1696, amounted in the whole to 334,963 l. 15 s. 8 d. ; of which there was from foreign parts to the value of 101,419 l. 16 s. 8 d. : whereby is seen that the imports from foreign parts abated from what they were in the preceding year, though the exports encreased almost one third of what they were in the year before.

IN 1697 the exports of Ireland amounted to 525,004 l. 6 s. 3 d. ; of which 83,707 l. were manufactures exported into England, and improved in England.

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THE imports for the above year amounted to 423,182 l. 16 s. 7 d. ; whereof the value from foreign parts was 132,290 l. This was to the prejudice of England, and the more so, as it encreased the evil in the next years imports ; for the foreign imports into Ireland is a loss to England.

IN 1698 the exports of Ireland amounted to 996305 l. 8 s. 3 d. ; of which there were manufactures into England for additional improvement to the value of 155,595.

THE imports for the same year amounted to 576,863 l. 1 s. 5½ d. ; by which account the balance is to the gain of Ireland 419,442 l. 6s. 9½ d. ; whereof there was from foreign parts to the value of 191,066 ; which was to the loss of England, for in the year 1681, the imports from foreign parts were but 86,240 l.

THE number of ships employed in the importations to Ireland, and their tonnage in the year 1698, was as follows, viz. 2403 ships, their tonnage of Irish ships 21,332, of English ships 76,044, of Scotch ships 4,205, and the tonnage of French ships 18,947 : the total of the tonnage being 120,728.

WHENCE it appears how the navigation of England is shortened by the trade of foreign parts, which is a prejudice to both kingdoms.

THE imports into England from Ireland in the year 1698, and how they were manufactured and improved in England, stand thus ;

Sheep's

Sheep's wool 335,574 stone, at 16 l. per stone, in Ireland a- mounted to	-	1. 167,787
Worsted yarn 12848 stone, at 27 s. per stone	-	17,345
Woollen yarn 3937 at 13 s. 6 d.	-	2,657
Sheep and lamb's skins	-	5,250
Linen yarn 8916 lb. 3 quart. at 15 l. per cent. in Ireland came to	-	44,583
Green hides 40000 at 14 s. per hide	-	28,000
		<hr/>
		1. 265,623

This sheep's wool manufactured in England, came to	-	671,148
This worsted yarn, ditto	-	35,000
This woollen yarn, ditto	-	5,000
These sheep and lamb's skins, ditto	-	15,000
This linen yarn - - ditto	-	89,000
These green hides - - ditto	-	56,000
		<hr/>
		1. 871,148

THERE were many other commodities then imported from Ireland, that are not mentioned, the certainty of their improvement not being ascertained as in the rest;
but

but they appear considerable, from the following account.

Calve skins at	l.	s.	d.	
14 s. - -	33	27	7	6
Tan'd hides 30000				l. s. d.
at 14 s. - -	21	000	0	0
Tallow 26903 at				106982 18 6
3 l. - -	40	355	0	0
Iron and wooden				
ware - -	42	300	0	0

THE next thing, is the exports from England to Ireland, according to the nearest computation - - 250000 0 0

THERE was employed in the trade of Ireland, as by the particulars of each part, in the year 1698; 2043 fail of ships, making tonnage as they were entered in the customhouse. 120,728 tons; of which 76,044 tons were of ships of England; the gain whereof at 20 s. per ton, makes - 76044 0 0

1304174 18 6

By this account against which there can be no objection, there being nothing charged, but what arises out of the customhouse books of both kingdoms) England gained annually by the trade of Ireland, as above 1,304,174 l. 18 s. 6 d.

BESIDE this, we must not exclude the exports of Ireland to foreign parts, on English account, that making no inconsiderable article; for the account of the exports of Ireland, for the year 1698 is 996,305 l. 8 s. 2 d.; of which we bring to the above account but 265,623 l. 10 s. 6 d. imported into England; which being deducted out of 996,305 l. 8 s. 2 d., leaves 730,681 l. 17 s. 8 d., which was exported to foreign parts—The greatest part of the last sum, is, or of right ought to be for the account of England; and if so, that is in the balance of trade equally so much, as if exported from England itself; and then it is evident, that England gained 2 millions sterl. per Annum by the trade of Ireland.

THOUGH there can be no gainsaying of matter of fact, yet there may be an objection to 871,148, that I make to be a part of the clear profit to the nation; for it will be said, that the first cost of them in Ireland, being 265,623, that must be deducted, as being paid for with the money, or goods of England.—

To which it is answered; that there is neither money nor goods sent out of England,

Years	Exports.			Imports.	
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.
1710 —	712497	- 2	- 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	554247	- 12 -
1711 —	878237	- 4	- 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	670948	- 13 -
1712 —	889339	- 7	- 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	774420	- 12 -
1713 —	890437	- 5	- 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	659665	- 0 -
1714 —	1422227	- 7	- 5	1016122	- 13 -
1715 —	1529765	- 14	- 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	972688	- 9 -
1716 —	1255083	- 7	- 10	875565	- 19 -
1717 —	1100012	- 10	- 4	907160	- 10 -
1718 —	1115304	- 6	- 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	887758	- 16 -
1719 —	1038381	- 7	- 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	891678	- 5 -
1720 —	859581	- 5	- 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	683364	- 1 -
1721 —	986346	- 14	- 2	730558	- 10 -
1722 —	1074269	- 12	- 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	829367	- 17 -
1723 —	1090675	- 13	- 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	920802	- 11 -
1724 —	1053782	- 13	- 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	819761	- 13 -
1725 —	1026537	- 6	- 4	889832	- 18 -
1726 —	1017872	- 15	- 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1030059	- 16 -
Total -	18020351	- 14	- 2	14114004	- 5 -

Medium for
17
years. } 1062020 - 13 - 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ 830235 - 10 -

Total for
the last 7
years. } 7109066 - 0 - 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5903747 - 9 -

Medium for
the last
7 years. } 1015580 - 17 - 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 843392 - 9 -

Imports.			Balance.			Contra Balance.		
s.	d.		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
247 - 12 - 4			158249 - 10 - 2 $\frac{1}{2}$					
948 - 13 - 8 $\frac{1}{2}$			207288 - 11 - 2					
420 - 12 - 6 $\frac{1}{4}$			114918 - 14 - 6 $\frac{1}{4}$					
665 - 0 - 10 $\frac{1}{4}$			230772 - 4 - 5					
122 - 13 - 7			406104 - 13 - 10					
688 - 9 - 11 $\frac{1}{4}$			557077 - 4 - 2 $\frac{1}{4}$					
565 - 19 - 11 $\frac{3}{4}$			379517 - 7 - 10 $\frac{1}{4}$					
160 - 10 - 10 $\frac{1}{4}$			272851 - 19 - 5 $\frac{3}{4}$					
758 - 16 - 6 $\frac{3}{4}$			227545 - 10 - 4 $\frac{3}{4}$					
678 - 5 - 6 $\frac{1}{2}$			146703 - 1 - 7					
364 - 1 - 6 $\frac{1}{4}$			176217 - 3 - 7					
558 - 10 - 9 $\frac{3}{4}$			255788 - 3 - 4 $\frac{1}{4}$					
367 - 17 - 2 $\frac{3}{4}$			244901 - 15 - 0					
802 - 11 - 6			169873 - 1 - 11 $\frac{3}{4}$					
761 - 13 - 3 $\frac{1}{4}$			234021 - 0 - 8 $\frac{1}{4}$					
832 - 18 - 5 $\frac{3}{4}$			136704 - 7 - 10 $\frac{1}{4}$					
059 - 16 - 4 $\frac{1}{2}$						12187 - 1 - 0 $\frac{1}{4}$		

004 - 5 - 1	3906347 - 9 - 1	12187 - 1 - 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
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0235 - 10 - 10 $\frac{1}{8}$	229784 - 2 - 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
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3747 - 9 - 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1205318 - 11 - 5 $\frac{1}{4}$
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392 - 9 - 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	172188 - 7 - 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
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land, for the exports of Ireland to England, nor much for the exports from Ireland for English account to foreign parts; but they are paid for by the expence of the Irish estates in England: so that as to the general stock of the nation, nothing is carried out of the kingdom, for what they fetched from Ireland. Whence it appeared, that if the trade of Ireland had been rightly regulated by England, it might have been made instrumental to have brought in more clear gain to the nation, than any other trade belonging to it.

THE next period, in which I shall consider the state of the trade of Ireland, is from 1710 to 1727; which, according to the customhouse accounts, carefully extracted by the judicious Mr. Dobbs, stands as follows; viz-

X 2

Years

By these abstracts may be observed the gradual rise of the exports of Ireland from 1710 to 1716; from which time they gradually fell to 1721; then rose again to 1724, and abated to 1727. It is immaterial to my purpose to enter into the causes of those ebbs and flows.

To help our judgment farther in forming an idea of the importance of the trade of Ireland, it may have its use to give an abstract of the number of ships, with their tonnage, employed for some years to export and import the commodities dealt in by that kingdom.

Years commencing Lady-day.	Ships No.	Tons.	Tonnage of ships at a medium.
1714	3081	161115	52.27 decimals.
1719	3341	135887	40.67
1720	3167	187041	59.09
1721	3334	158414	47.51
1722	3657	286594	78.36
1723	4012	173986	43.36
1724	3829	170273	44.46
Total	24421	1273310	
Medium	3488.7	181901	52.14

Of which the English tonnage amounts to 96,924, Scotch 17,951, and Irish 38,513.

THE tonnage in different nations in 1722 and 1723, was as follows :

In 1722.	Tons.	In 1723.
English —	218299	96440
Scotch —	18355	19247
Irish —	33312	42136
Danish —	11201	9292
Dutch —	2444	3915
French —	2868	2751
Spanish —	115	205
Total	286594	173986

HEREBY may be seen the proportion which other nations bore to Ireland in the carriage and freight of their goods, and their imports ; by which we may observe, that a great part of the profits of the Irish trade were absorbed by England and foreign nations ; and if a union between England and Ireland should once take place, these advantages might chiefly center among ourselves.

An Abstract of the Exports, Imports, and Balance with England for eight Years
from Lady-day 1719, to Lady-day 1727.

Years.	Exports.			Imports.			Balance.			Contra Balance.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1719	447659	2	11½	476187	14	1½	31341	11	0½	28528	11	1½
1720	363529	10	5	375803	8	8½	36264	17	4½	12273	18	3½
1721	440946	17	6¾	409605	6	6½	35068	16	4½			
1722	544002	7	8½	507737	10	3½	34833	11	4			
1723	554431	1	5¼	519362	5	1						
1724	476632	14	10½	441799	3	6½						
1725	467949	2	7	501649	6	3½				33700	3	8½
1726	495497	13	3¼	558261	10	3½				62763	17	0
Total	3790648	10	9½	3790406	4	9½	137508	16	1½	137266	10	1½
Med.	473831	1	4¾	473800	15	8¾	30	5	7¾			

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	l.	s.	d.
The medium of Irish exports to England in linen and linen yarn about -	267000	0	0
By wool, woollen, and worsted yarn, - - - -	117554	15	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<hr/>		
	384554	15	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Of copper ore, feathers, hair, raw hides, kelp, calveskins, goat and kid-skins, sheep and lamb-skins, rabbit-skins, tallow -	55408	00	00
	<hr/>		
Total of all	439962	15	10 $\frac{1}{4}$

THE other articles, which make up the remainder of the exports, amounting to about 33,900 l. are goods re-exported about 1500 l., chiefly wine and brandy; beef, butter, candles, fish, flannel, frizes, small horses, hogs-lard, pork, rape-feed, and other small parcels, which are generally the provisions and little necessaries colliers and other seamen carry with them, in their portage in their return home.

By this it appears, that the Irish export to England the first principles of their manufactures of various kinds, viz. wool, ores, skins, hair, feathers, hides, and tallow, about 172,900 l., in linen yarn about 90,000 l. so there is above 262,900 l. exported to them of such things as are absolutely necessary

sary for carrying on and increasing their commerce, and for employing their people, the linen yarn being particularly useful in carrying on the northern manufactures of linen, and mixtures of linen with wool and cotton. The Irish linens amounting to about 177000 l. are made a manufacture in England, by being stamped or stained, and saves a great quantity of their rich manufactures in wool, &c. for exportation; which is so much saved from foreigners in Irish hands for English use, being spent in Britain, where all the redundant cost centers: so that of all the Irish exports to England, there is 34,000 l. luxuriously spent therein, consequently they must have proved a great benefit to the English trade and commerce.

THE imports from England at a medium, are nearly 473,800 l. per annum, and chiefly consist of the following articles, viz. bark, books, bottles, candle-wick, wool-cards, coals, coffee, wheat and barley, drapery, drugs, allum, cochineal, indico, logwood, iron ware, steel, lead, cambricks, hollands, lawns, muslins, flower, millinary ware, callicoes, salt and rock, raw silk, thrown silk undyed, and silk manufactures, pewter and tin, whalebone, wood and ware, cotton and yarn, gro-grum-yarns, salt-petre, groceries of fruits and spice, small parcels, battery and brass shrufts, cheese, camblets, copper-plates, redwood, earthen-ware, herrings, fustians, glass-wares, sugars, gold and silver thread and lace,

lace, hops, slate, snuffs, stockings, pitch and tar, cyder, tea, tobacco, toys, fans, gloves, paper, hats, garden-seeds, hemp, apples.

THESE, with some other small articles, make up the medium as above: of which there is of the English produce and manufactures 248,439 l. from the American colonies, and by the East-India company 167,536 l. and by the Dutch, Flemish, Baltic, and Mediterranean trades 57,4000 l.—There is about 7,800 l. value of tobacco imported by way of Scotland; but being all from the English plantations, the whole is placed to this account.

THUS stood the trade between England and Ireland; by which it appears, that all to a trifle which we export to them; are either of the greatest use, and a very great gain to England, by encreasing their trade and commerce abroad, and employing a great number of industrious poor at home, or saved from foreigners, by whom they must otherwise necessarily be supplied: consequently this is an addition of power and wealth to the British Dominions. The goods imported into Ireland from England are either a redundancy of their produce and manufactures, which employs and maintains a great number of farmers and manufacturers; or such colony and East-India goods as employ a great number of the largest and best ships; which consequently promotes

motes navigation and seamen, and employs abundance of hands in our colonies, who, in return, take off great quantities of the English manufactures.

WE shall next consider the state of the trade between Ireland and Scotland, and the Isle of man, and annex an abstract of the exports, imports, and balance, with that part of Britain for the like term of eight years, viz.

Years.

Years.	Exports.			Imports.			Contra balance.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1719	13690	19	0	37868	19	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	24178	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1720	10352	4	4	27706	18	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17354	14	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1721	11256	15	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29151	10	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	17894	15	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1722	14398	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	27468	14	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	13070	12	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1723	23578	5	8	33497	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	9918	16	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1724	21250	0	3	31003	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	9752	19	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1725	10023	12	4	38938	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	28914	7	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1726	9384	2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	29762	13	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	20378	11	2
Total - - -	113934	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	255396	19	6	141462	17	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Medium -	14241	15	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	31924	12	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	17682	17	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

IRISH exports to Scotland and Isle of Man, consist of viz.

OATMEAL, other grain; beef and kine, horses, hides, butter, cheese, soap, linen, and mutton, and other small parcels to the amount of 11900*l*. Some other small articles with wine and brandy make up the medium—

THE imports from Scotland into Ireland consist of, viz.

COALS, tobacco, bark, brandy, barley and malt, groceries, linen and kenting, wine, timber, linen-yarn, herring, and small parcels, amounting to 31700 — Some other trifling articles make up the medium.

THE importation from North Britain and the Isle of Man to Ireland vary but little; consisting chiefly of coal and tobacco; for which the Irish demands are pretty constant, and nearly equal—The Irish exports being chiefly of oat-meal, rises and falls as the Irish harvests are plentiful, or otherwise.

UPON this trade there is occasion for little animadversion, it being very small and to be understood at first view. By deducting the small balance with England, from the Contrabalance with Scotland; they lost by Britain, not including their colonies, 17652 *l*. 11 *s*. 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ *d*.

IT is necessary to state the Irish trade with the British colonies in America, as an appendage of Britain ; the imports from thence being all accounted for in the Irish importations from Britain ; where they must all be first entered, before they can be admitted into Ireland, except timber and grain ; not being bond-goods.

HERE follows an abstract of the Irish American exports, for the same years with those of the last abstracts, viz.

Year	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100
1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100	

Years.	l.	s.	d.	Irish exports to America consist of	l.
1719	77190	8	8½	Beef about	61500
1720	88980	18	9	Butter	10000
1721	68404	3	2½	Pork	8600
1722	74344	9	6½	Linen	3500
1723	82806	6	9½	Fish	8890
1724	96825	8	10	Bread	1200
1725	103998	2	4½	Cheese and Candles	1000
1726	110313	19	7¼		
Total - -	702863	17	9½	Total -	86790

The medium of which is the annual Balance,
viz. 87857 l. 19 s. 8¾ d.

Which with some other small articles
make up the medium.

THE Irish imports from America being already accounted for; the contra-balance from Britain alone must be deducted from the American: the balance from Britain in the favour of Ireland, including the colonies, will then amount to 70205 l. 8 s. $1\frac{43}{84}$ d.

THUS stood the trade with Great Britain, and her colonies, and Ireland. Whence it might be imagined, that Great Britain were losers by their trade and intercourse with Ireland: but when this balance comes to be subtracted from the draughts upon Ireland, by those who have estates, employments, or pensions, and reside in Britain; by others who go there to spend, or for education, and by the troops paid abroad; which amounted to 486000, then Britain will be a gainer by Ireland 415794 l. 11 s. $10\frac{21}{84}$ d. If to this be added the monopoly of wool, woollen and worsted yarn; of which Ireland sent annually to England 227049 stone, at 16 pounds to the stone (the computed price at a medium of wool and yarn being then 10 s. 4 d. per stone, and the least profit upon that when manufactured is computed at 2 l. 19 s. 8 d.; for a stone of wool manufactured without dying, is, at least, worth 3 l. 10 s. od. especially what Ireland send over here, that being the choicest and best) then the English gained by the Irish wool 678,573 l. 15 s. 6 d., which is by the lowest computation that can be made; for as it is computed by
others

others it rises considerably higher ; as thus : a pound of wool in England is valued at 12d., and a pound of the Irish wool and yarn, being of the best sort, may be worth 14 d. Irish at least : now Mr. King's computation is, the wool is the fourth of the value of it when manufactured : if so, a stone of wool manufactured is worth 3 l. 14 s. 8 d., and the profit from Ireland to England would then amount to 730,340 l. 19 s. Another ingenious gentleman, who wrote upon the trade of Ireland in 1687 says, three pounds worth of wool, and oil, when manufactured into white cloths is worth 13 l. : at which rate the gain to Britain upon the before-mentioned quantity of Irish wool, computing such as was sent to England at 14 d. Irish, would be 916710 l. 6 s. 9 d., this computation being made on white cloths as sold in England, before they are dyed and exported ; the profit upon exportation after dying is to be added ; which, if we were to say does not amount to less than one half more, it would not exceed the bounds of truth : so that the computation at first given is rather greatly diminished than exaggerated.

THE profit England gains upon other articles being no monopoly, we shall only observe ; that the linen and linen yarn as it is improved in England by working and stamping, since the Irish cannot export it striped and stained with colours, or with any other mixture,

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mixture, is so far a monopoly; and since otherwise England would take it from foreigners, it is so much saved to England, as before observed, and contributes to the power and wealth of Britain, by enabling Ireland to take so much more of our rich manufactures.

To the two articles already mentioned may be added the freight and employment given to British shipping; the tonnage of which, at a medium of three years, amounts to 155738 $\frac{1}{2}$ l., which, at 1l. 10s. per ton freight, is 233608l. This, considering how many are employed in the American trade, I cannot think without bounds: for the tonnage in the coal trade does not much exceed one-third, being at a medium 61081 tons, about one-sixth of which may be computed to be Irish; so the British tonnage employed will not exceed 50901, there would then be about 104700 tons of shipping employed upon the freights; and the others being supposed, at least, to make 10s. per ton freight; this would raise the freight upon others to about 1l. 19s. 8d. per ton; which I suppose not much to exceed the truth. Since also a great quantity of our goods is sent abroad by commission from England, they have the benefit of the sale of these goods in foreign markets.

THE benefit then arising to Britain from Ireland will appear thus:

	l.	s.	d.
Money spent in England over and above the ba- lance subtracted as be- fore, and by payments of troops abroad - -	415794	11	10 ^{$\frac{21}{84}$}
By the monopoly of Irish wool and yarn - - -	678573	15	6
By freight of British ship- ping - - - - -	233608	0	0
Total in Irish money	1327976	7	4 ^{$\frac{21}{84}$}

Which amounts to, in English money,
1225730 l.

But, lest it might be thought that 30 s.
per ton is more than the English gain by
the freight of shipping, we may deduct 10 s.
per ton from the freight, which comes to
77869 l. 6 s. 8 d. and then they will be
gainers by the trade and rents of Ireland
1250107 l. 0 s. 8 d. Irish money.

To which may be added the
profits made by England upon
the Irish linens that they stamp
or stain, which, at 12 d. per
yard exported, amounts at
a medium to the value of
177000 l. Upon this they make
at least, 10 d. per yard profit
when stained or stamped, in
which case the English gain
will be - - - - -

147500 0 0

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The linen yarn, at a medium l. s. d.
 exported at 12d. per pound,
 amounts to about 90000 l. and
 the profit upon it manufactured
 being at least 150 per cent.
 when sold in the English mar-
 ket, without computing the
 profit when exported from
 thence, comes to - - - 135000 0 0

Their profit upon skins, ore,
 tallow, kelp, &c. when manu-
 factured, may be reasonably
 supposed double of the value
 when exported from Ireland;
 which being above 55000, the
 English profit may be computed
 the same - - - - - 55000 0 0

As all this is net gain above
 the value of the goods Ireland
 exported to Britain (and the
 profitable goods Ireland sends
 to them, upon which the above
 profit is made, amount to
 440000 l.) with which Ireland
 paid for the British commodi-
 ties imported there, we may
 add at least, so much more to
 the gain Britain makes of Ire-
 land; since if there was no
 such kingdom, the English
 would want a vent for so many
 of their profitable exports, no

other kingdom having a de-	l.	s.	d.
mand for them; by this the			
profit of England from Ireland			
is at least - - - - -	440000	0	0

This being added to the foregoing sum of 1250107l. 0s. 8d. then the total benefit Britain reaps from the neighbourhood, trade and commerce of Ireland (in which is not included the profit made upon the Irish goods when exported by Britain to foreign countries) amounts to - - - - - 2027607 0 8

To this also may be added the advantage arising to Britain, by the number of veteran troops maintained in Ireland, as also the benefit of providing for many by the beneficial livings and employments there. If such and so many are the advantages which Britain reaps from the neighbourhood of Ireland, by their rents, wool, and trade; how grossly ignorant must those be, who maintain it would be better for Britain that Ireland was sunk, or not to have had it annexed to the crown of England?

THESE people are possessed with a notion that Ireland has been a perpetual charge and expence to England, and a drain of their men and money, by the frequent rebellions of the Irish; whereas it is manifest, except the

the conquest of Henry II. and the armies brought over by king John and Richard II. Ireland was no expence to them from the first landing of the English under Strongbow until the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, but was serviceable in several of their wars with France and Scotland; and during that whole time, the English gained by the rents and trade of Ireland. Though the crown of England, in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, and after the Irish rebellion, was at a considerable expence, yet the body of the people of England gained vastly more by the Irish rents and trade, than the money expended and sent over to pay the troops that reduced the rebels there. As to the reduction of Ireland after 1688, though for three campaigns it was very expensive to England, yet, from the year 1660 to that time, the English reaped by the rents and trade of Ireland, three times the sum which was expended by them upon the last reduction; and since that time to the present, it may be acknowledged, that England has not gained so little as a million and a half annually by Ireland. All which would have been lost to us, had there been no such country, or had it been in the hands of foreigners.

It is plain then, that Ireland, instead of being a charge to Britain, is of unspeakable benefit, and may be termed the choicest jewel and acquisition of the crown and people of England. And by a union of Ireland

with England, in a manner consistent with the general tenor of those principles, whereon we have before reasoned, the wealth, and the naval power of Britain may be greatly augmented, there being trade and commerce abroad sufficient to employ and maintain all the hands in Britain and Ireland, were they even double what they are. For as Ireland has prospered from the times we have been speaking of, England has been proportionably gainers thereby, and ever will.

As London is now opulent and magnificent by being the seat of empire, and residence of the court, where men of fortune and great expence generally reside; so upon such a union, Britain being the seat of empire, would still engross by far the greatest part of the wealth perpetually flowing from Ireland, as London does that from the distant counties. Wherefore upon a union with England, and an enlargement and extension of the commerce of Ireland, all their acquired treasures would be poured into England by the wealthy; and Ireland would retain no more riches, nor enjoy no more money than what would be sufficient to employ their poor and circulate their traffic: for as the blood in the natural body circulates through the heart in greater quantities, and with greater velocity than through the extremes, so all the wealth of a trading nation does through the capital and center of empire and trade.

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THUS should Ireland encrease upon a union in their numbers and industry, and acquire two or three millions more from abroad annually than was sufficient for their consumption, four-fifths of this at least, would be brought into Britain by various channels. It can then proceed only from a narrow and selfish way of thinking ; that Ireland can ever be supposed to rival England in trade, whilst a member of the empire. Were it in the hands of a foreign nation, or had it extent and numbers sufficient to be a state of itself, it would then be a dangerous rival ; but the latter of these is not possible from it's situation and small extent, and the former can never happen whilst the British protestant interest prevails in Ireland, and Ireland is protected and regarded as brethren and friends : nothing but violence and oppression can ever give Ireland the least tendency that way, whilst good government prevails in the British empire. What reason then can be assigned for not admitting Ireland into a stricter union and greater privileges in trade, but would have equally held against the admitting of Scotland and Wales ? And do we not experience that London, by being the metropolis, reaps all the benefit and acquired wealth of those distant members, as it did before of the northern and western counties of England ? Would it not be accounted a very narrow and confined way of thinking,

and highly detrimental to the wealth and the power of the public in general, to allow that a few merchants should monopolize a trade, and deprive others of it, who being admitted would add greatly to the wealth and power of the whole community? Should the city of London say, by depriving the out-ports of all trade, they should grow immen- sely rich, and all their poor be employed, and gain infinitely more than at present, when trade is dispersed in so many parts of the kingdom; would this be esteemed sound rea- soning, or good policy in a state to suffer it? When the out-ports could demonstrate, that by their being admitted to participate of the commerce, greater numbers would be main- tained and employed, and a far greater de- gree of wealth acquired by the nation in ge- neral, though it should be dispersed amongst more hands, and some particular persons would not reap so great a benefit as when confined to themselves? Yet is it not from a parallel way of reasoning that Ireland is de- prived of an union with Britain; and having several privileges of trade allowed them, which would greatly add to the wealth and power of the British empire in general? Were Ireland admitted into the same privi- leges of trade, and incorporated with them, would not they be liable to the same taxes with England? Which they could bear in proportion as the distant counties in England

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do, and the enlargement of the Irish fund bear it? Would not that ease the public in England, and render the whole united kingdom far more formidable to it's enemies, and it's rivals in trade than it is at present? Would not the encrease of the riches and numbers of people in Ireland; in consequence hereof, greatly extend the foreign trade of the united kingdom? No unprejudiced man, who has the real security of the British empire at heart, but must own that the encouraging Ireland in all the improvements it is capable of, by adding to it's trade and wealth, and uniting it's affections to Britain, is doing the greatest service to the public; and the closer such union is cemented, and the more powerful Ireland shall grow, just so much the more is added to the security, wealth, power, and dignity of Britain.

THAT an idea may be formed, in as narrow a compass as may be of the proportion that the Irish trade has borne to the whole commerce of Britain; we shall observe, that

THE exports of England upon their whole trade were computed in the year 1710 at 6690828 l. 15 s. $2\frac{3}{4}$ d. and the balance then at 2389872 l. 9 s. $9\frac{1}{8}$ d.; in 1715 their exports were 7379409 l. 3 s., and the balance 225653 l. 18 s. $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. If we suppose they encreased to the year 1727 to 8000,000, and the balance to 2500,000, which would be a considerable addition to the trade and wealth,
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of Britain ; near $\frac{2}{3}$ as much, if not $\frac{4}{5}$ was gained by the rents, trade, wool, and freight, of Ireland.

THE tonnage of shipping employed in England at a medium of 6 years ending at Christmas 1727, amounted to 859305 ; the tonnage of the trade of Ireland to 181901 l. ; which is to the English as about 1 to $4\frac{7}{10}$; the British tonnage employed in Ireland is 155378 $\frac{2}{3}$; so the proportion employed by Ireland of British shipping, is to England's whole tonnage as 1 to $5\frac{4}{10}$: it may also be observed, that the total of the exports to those of England was as 1 to $7\frac{3}{10}$; and the Irish imports as 1 to 6 ; but the English balance exceeded the Irish as 14 to 1 ; without taking notice of the draughts upon Ireland otherwise.

THE monopoly of wool and woollen yarn has been the greatest occasion of complaint in Ireland, of hardship laid upon it by England's engrossing so valuable a branch to itself. This the English claim as due to them, upon account of the charges from time to time that they have heretofore been at in reducing the natives of Ireland, as also in protecting and restoring the British interest, when disturbed by the frequent rebellions of the Irish.

ON the other hand, the Irish say, that the hardship is laid equally upon the conquerors and the conquered, without regard to their own
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offspring, and of those who bore the brunt of the war. Also the Irish, by being confined to one market, the profits made by their sheep is too small, they being allowed only to spin it at the lowest wages possible. This difficulty we would consider as a friend to the British commerce in general, without any view of it's being a hardship to Ireland, since England has given Ireland a full equivalent for it, in the manufacture of linen and hemp; in which they have been so greatly encouraged, and thereby the imports of foreign linen proportionally diminished: and whilst England continues their encouragement to the Irish in this respect, they ought willingly to acquiesce in the monopoly of wool, or give England an equivalent in taxes to be allowed to carry on the woollen manufacture unrestrained, till a union of the two kingdoms should take place.

For it is certainly better policy for the English to consent that the Irish shall share this trade with them, than foreigners should engross any of it, although by a greater cheapness of their commodities the Irish supplant the English, till they become capable of selling equally cheap: and if the Irish gave an equivalent to England, in consideration thereof, in money annually, and that money was inviolably appropriated to take off such taxes as most affected the price of our woollen goods; this, together with the other principles

principles humbly recommended to the public deliberation, would gradually put the English in a condition to sell as cheap as the Irish; and then the happy union may take place, without any injury to either; but on the contrary to the unspeakable benefit and advantage of both; which is otherwise at present. For, as the Irish wool is, at present, disposed of, it proves greatly prejudicial to England; because where high duties or prohibitions are laid upon any species of goods, either exported or imported, there a smuggling trade will be carried on; whilst there are men in the world, who will risk any thing for gain, it will be unavoidable. Whence it is that in Ireland such persons finding a better price in France and Holland for their wool than in England, do carry on this trade, in spite of all the care taken to prevent it. Wherefore, it ought to be carefully weighed, whether the giving so material an article as Irish wool to foreigners in their manufactures, and that in considerable quantities, be not more prejudicial to the sale of English woollen manufactures abroad, than prohibiting Ireland from sending over to Britain any of the Irish wool manufactured, permitting only the Irish wool and woollen-yarn can at present, be of benefit to them?

As the case at present stands, the consequence has long been, and will continue to be, that either the smuggling detrimental trade

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will be carried on to the sole advantage of foreigners, and the lessening the sale and consumption of our British manufactures abroad ; or, if a stop should be put to it, the sheepwalks, and flocks of sheep in Ireland must be lessened ; and in a little time, no more would be kept than were sufficient to supply the markets with flesh, and what wool would be wanting to make up apparel for the Irish consumption. Does it not, therefore, become the wisdom of the British nation to consider, whether it is better to remain under this dilemma than not ? That is, whether the Irish, by continuing their smuggling trade, or lessening their sheep-walks, give foreigners no more wool on the one hand ; or, on the other, be put upon such a footing as to work their wool to advantage, and employ their poor in Ireland, while at the same time England should reap the same advantage by the Irish manufactures as France in particular at present does by the Irish wool ? Let the dilemma be taken in either light, we find England must be a great loser. For suppose 100,000 stone of wool is conveyed from Ireland to France or Holland annually, it is plain (that in such foreign markets as they supply by it) at 4 l. per stone manufactured, which is now considerably within the profits they make, England loses 400,000 l. which they might have saved, had they got the wool, and manufactured it for their foreign sales. If the Irish are stopped in their sheep-walks, by reason of
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the trifling profit they could honestly make by their sheep, then the profit England makes by their manufacturing of the Irish wool would be lost ; which has been already made appear to amount to no less than 678573 l. 15 s. 6 d.

If England, either by Ireland giving her too much wool, or by their supplying foreigners, has more manufactures upon hand than she can vent abroad, it is her interest that the Irish flocks of sheep should be lessened, and their lands be put to a better use: but if this be not the case, and England could have a sufficient vent, and should want wool to supply what foreign customers she has, or might have, with her woollen manufactures: and it seems to appear, that if Great Britain should fall into the general system that we have here, and in our other writings adopted, with all submission to the wisdom, correction, and improvement of others (for as a private labourer in the vineyard for the public prosperity, I only presume to sketch out the land for others to cultivate) we are willing to hope she may be capable of selling her woollen, and all her other manufactures, as cheap as any other rival nation can do; and, from what we have also proposed, her husbandmen, her manufacturers, and her artists of every denomination, may equal in skill and delicacy of workmanship any in the world.



DISSERTATION XIII.

The union of England and Ireland continued.

LONG experience has shewn, that no laws hitherto enacted, however severe, have been sufficient to prevent the people of Ireland from running their raw wools to France, and their manufactured goods to foreign countries; and that nothing can effectually put a stop to this great evil, but making it the interest of Ireland to discourage that practice.

FOR since the Irish wools, that yearly remain more than they manufacture, must somewhere find a market; and since the French can afford to give more for their wools than we can, the landed gentlemen of Ireland will ever continue to countenance this pernicious trade, as the only one, perhaps, by which their tenants are enabled to pay their rents.

IN order to shew that the running of Irish wool to France, and the Irish manufactured goods to other countries, is inconsistent with the real interest of Ireland; and to make it
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the interest of Ireland to prevent it ; we shall first take a retrospect of the state of the woollen manufacture about forty years ago, and compare the same with what it is at present : in the next place we shall point out the reasons why the Irish have sold so much wool to our rivals the French, and propose some measures that should seem to prevent the same, till a happy and perfect union between the two kingdoms, shall take place ; and this in such a manner as will be equally beneficial to England and Ireland, and prove a step previously necessary to be taken to facilitate the desired union.

ABOUT forty years ago, they manufactured in Ireland large quantities of ratteens, frizes, and coarse cloth of eight, nine, and ten shillings per yard ; the latter being the price the best cloths their own wools could make, were generally sold for. The lower and middle class of their people appeared at that time well dressed in ratteens and frizes ; the better or richer class, wore cloths of ten shillings per yard ; and their nobility and gentry the superfine cloths, then made in England.

THE importation of Spanish wools into Ireland made an alteration in their woollen manufactures ; their cloathiers attempted first to make quarter Spanish cloths, afterwards half-quarter Spanish cloths, and soon learned from us the manner of making whole Spanish cloths.

As

As the country of Ireland improved, their people grew more pompous in dress, and more expensive in equipage. The lower class, who were formerly well dressed in ratteens and frizes, despise that cloathing now, and purchase cloths mixed with Spanish wools; the middle class, together with their nobility and gentry, wear few cloaths but such as are manufactured of all Spanish wools; by which the Irish clothiers are become great manufacturers of Spanish cloth; there being no great demand for cloths of eight, nine, or ten shillings per yard, except liveries for servants, into which sorts their own wools were formerly largely manufactured.

As by the discouraging the manufactures of such cloths, great quantities of Irish wools do yearly remain in that kingdom, the measures proposed shall be to engage the people of Ireland to manufacture more of their own wools, send less of them to France, and more of their spinning to England; and this may be enforced, by proving it not only consistent with their own interest, but the surest way to extend and advance the same.

IN what is herein submitted, the advantages of both countries are considered. We apprehend that neither our own manufacturers nor land-owners can oppose, and the people of Ireland will have due encouragement to induce them to prevent, the running

their wools into France, and their manufactured goods into foreign countries.

It being apparent that the importation of Spanish wools into Ireland has been the cause of their clothiers manufacturing less of their own wools, and consequently having the more to sell to France; a prohibition of Spanish wool into Ireland, added to the other measures that have been suggested in the course of these animadversions, bid fair to answer the end proposed. For when these things are accomplished, the Irish manufacturers will return to their former manner of making such cloths as the wools of that kingdom will produce, and the laudable spirit for encouraging the manufactures made in Ireland, will effectually promote this design.

'TILL the desired union between England and Ireland shall take place, let every step be taken that is previously necessary to a view of such high concernment. Let the people of Ireland be permitted to export their own woollen manufactured goods directly from Ireland to Great Britain only; not to be sold for consumption in England, but for exportation from England to such foreign countries as the proprietors or purchasers shall judge best. But as there are many good reasons why they should not send their woollen goods directly from Ireland to our plantations abroad, or to other foreign countries

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we trade to, the exportation of their woollen goods should be limited and restrained to Great Britain for re-exportation only to foreign countries.

AND, in order to prevent the expence to this kingdom that might attend the erecting and keeping proper warehouses, and the multiplying revenue-officers for receiving and discharging such woollen goods as the people of Ireland may send us; and also to prevent the sale and consumption of such woollen goods in England, to the prejudice of our English manufactures, landlords of pasture-grounds, and the lessening the labour of our own poor: let a duty be laid on all Irish woollen goods at importation from Ireland; which duty shall be drawn back upon exportation to *foreign countries only*, but not to the British plantations, England reserving that branch in the woollen trade wholly to herself, till the perfect union between England and Ireland shall take effect to the mutual content of both nations. Hereby the warehouses of the merchants in England will become the proper places for receiving all such woollen goods as shall be imported from Ireland, and the duties paid at importation will be a sufficient security to England that such goods shall not be wore or consumed in England, to the prejudice of our English manufactures in that respect.

If any one undertakes to make it for the interest of the people of Ireland to prevent
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the running their wools to France, and to manufacture them fully themselves, either for their own wear, or for exportation to England, under the limitations before-mentioned; he must also make it for the interest of England to receive the goods so manufactured in Ireland; for this degree of union proposed must be agreeable to both kingdoms, otherwise the success hoped for cannot be expected.

To render, therefore, a design of this nature agreeable to the land-owners of Ireland, we will consider the advantages arising to Ireland by the manufacturing of one year's importation of Spanish wools, and the advantage she will have by manufacturing one year's produce of her own wools; also the gain that will accrue to Ireland by prohibiting of Spanish wools, and by a free exportation to England of such woollen goods as she may manufacture more than are absolutely necessary for her own consumption.

THE Spanish wools imported into Ireland from the 25th of March, 1743, to march the 25th 1744, were one hundred twenty-eight thousand, and eighty-six futtle pounds--which may be computed at about five hundred and seventy bags.

LET it be supposed that each bag of wool is sufficient to make four pieces of Spanish cloths; then the cloths manufactured were two thousand two hundred and eighty; which, upon an average, being worth twenty pounds

pounds each cloth, the produce of the year's importation of Spanish wools will amount to 45600l.

It is computed, that in the woollen manufactures, four-fifths of the value of the goods, when finished for sale, are given to the labour of the people therein concerned; therefore, let us suppose, that of this 45600l. there was paid to the labour of the people 36480, and to Spain for the wool 9120l.

To make one piece of Spanish cloth, completely finished for sale, will take up three months; it is seldom finished in less time; the manufacture is so tedious, that some of the people employed are often obliged to wait for work, while others are finishing their parts; as may be conceived by the following table, which was received from an eminent clothier, on whose veracity we may depend.

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To make one piece of Spanish cloth will employ,

	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Days.
Dying - - -	1	— 0	— 0	— 1
Beating - - -	0	— 2	— 0	— 4
Scribbling - - -	2	— 0	— 0	— 5
Spinning the chain	0	— 8	— 0	— 7
Winding the chain	0	— 3	— 0	— 1
Warping, winding quills, and weav- ing - - -	2	— 0	— 1	— 24
Spinning the list				
Burling - - -				
Milling - - -	1	— 0	— 0	— 1
Dreſſing - - -	4	— 0	— 0	— 5

By this table it appears in how many days less than three months the poor employed in this manufacture finish their several parts. Therefore it is highly probable that several of them are often idle for want of work, unless the master clothier be a man of a large capital, and is able to carry on his manufactory so as to find them employment all the year. This we cannot suppose to be the case of the clothiers of Ireland, whose funds, I am informed, are small, and their ambition to make Spanish cloth so great, that they give their spinners and weavers, who are employed on Spanish wools, one third part more wages than they give to those employed on the Irish,

Now

Now the same people, that are employed by the above table, in the manufacturing one cloth made of Spanish wool, are absolutely requisite in manufacturing a cloth made of Irish; and they can finish such a cloth in two months, as completely as they can a cloth made of Spanish in three; therefore, if fully employed, can work up half as many more yards of cloth in one year, as an equal number can do, who are wholly employed in manufacturing of Spanish.

BESIDES, as coarse wools may be worked up into goods of various kinds, and the wool so disposed of, as to give employment at any time to a greater number of hands than the like value of Spanish wools can employ, all manufactures of coarse wools can be finished with greater dispatch.

SINCE, therefore, the wealth of a nation is increased by the number of the poor it employs, and the quantity of the land-productions they consume; we shall consider what number of the poor of Ireland nine thousand one hundred and twenty pounds value in Spanish wools will employ, and what number of poor the wools of Ireland, valued at twelve shillings the great stone, containing sixteen pounds, will also employ and subsist.

ON the best information, we find that the wools which Ireland yearly produces are computed at four hundred eighty thousand stone, of sixteen pounds to the stone; some

have computed them at less, but accounts that we have obtained from Ireland make them more.

WE shall, therefore, consider the wools of that kingdom under the highest estimation that they have been reckoned at, and shew what that quantity of wool would produce, if worked up for their own consumption, or for exportation to England; and what loss that kingdom sustains yearly by neglecting the manufacturing of her own wools, encouraging the manufacture of Spanish, and running her raw wools to France.

WE shall next shew the gain that would arise in that kingdom, if their own wools were fully manufactured by their own people.

LET it be supposed, that the medium price of the wools of Ireland is twelve shillings the stone of sixteen pounds; then four hundred eighty thousand stones, at twelve shillings the stone, is 288000 l.

IF ten pounds value in wool, when completely manufactured for sale, is worth fifty pounds, the value of the yearly wools of Ireland, when worked up, must be 1440000 l.

IF four fifths of this sum be paid to the working people for labour, and the remaining fifth be paid to the rents of the kingdom for the produce of their sheep, the earned money of the poor of that country, in working up the yearly produce, will amount to 1152000 l.; and they will work
up

up as much of the produce of the kingdom as will amount to 288000 l. Consequently, Ireland will gain yearly, by the manufacturing of her own wool, 1152000 l. And

By manufacturing the whole years importation of Spanish wool, she can only gain 36480 l.—To earn which sum, she must yearly pay to Spain 9120 l. and have numbers of her poor idly supported by high wages, to make them amends for the many days the manufacturing of Spanish wools leaves them unemployed.

It is not easy to compute the exact number of poor that the wools of such a country, if worked up amongst themselves, would employ and subsist. But as most working people earn no more than what is sufficient to maintain them comfortably; we are of opinion that the finding out the quantity and value of any kind of goods manufactured in a country, and the value of the common annual subsistence of a manufacturer, is the nearest way of judging of the number of the working people subsisted by that manufacture.

LET us suppose that the common annual subsistence of working men, women, and children in Ireland may be purchased at a medium for ten pounds per annum, and that four hundred eighty thousand stone of the wools of Ireland, when fully manufactured, are worth 1440000 l.

THEN

THEN the number of poor subsisted by the manufacturing the yearly produce of the wools of Ireland will be one hundred forty thousand people.

WE shall next consider how many of the poor of Ireland are subsisted by the manufacturing Spanish wools, admitting that they are not, during the whole year, one day unemployed, and that they manufactured the whole importation of Spanish wools in the year 1743, which was much larger than any quantity they ever imported in one year into that kingdom.

IT was before computed that five hundred seventy bags of Spanish wool, when fully manufactured for sale, would amount to 45600l. Wherefore, by that computation, the poor thereby employed and subsisted by that manufacture can be no more than four thousand five hundred and sixty people.

WHENCE it is obvious that Ireland loses immensely every year by encouraging the manufacture of Spanish cloths, discouraging the manufacturing of her own wools, and sending, and selling her valuable unmanufactured wools to France. To these causes may we not justly ascribe the number of Irish poor, who are now employed in all the woollen manufactories of France, where, on account of religion, as well as skill, they have met with protection and encouragement?

IF the industrious poor are compelled to quit their country for want of employment,
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the gentlemen of Ireland must lose their former markets for the product of their lands. The loss will be greater to the landed than the trading interest, and gentlemen must abate of their rents ; for it is the employment of the poor that must ever keep them up to their value ; and while Ireland shall encourage the manufacturing Spanish cloths, this has notoriously obliged numbers of the poor to quit the country, or come to the lands for maintenance, which will lower their value ; but the value of their lands must rise, as the manufacture of Irish wools shall be encouraged, and the greater number of their poor shall be employed. Wherefore, a commerce with England, for such woollen goods as Ireland may manufacture more than are requisite for her own consumption, must prove of the advantage to Ireland that has been represented. It will encourage them to work up yearly their surplus wools, and employ the number of poor, at least, already mentioned. What the cloths, which they may export, will produce more than the cost of the wool, will be gain to the national stock ; and the greater number of manufactures that are employed will be so much earned money to the country ; the price of whose labour will, in a great measure, circulate among them, and be a means of improving their lands.

If manufacturers are riches to a country, how valuable must that manufacture be, that
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is capable of employing and subsisting yearly one hundred and forty-four thousand of the poor? And how little valuable, in comparison thereto is that manufacture, that employs but four thousand five hundred and sixty, and occasions a much greater number to abandon the country for want of bread, or to be a burden to it for their maintenance? Such a manufacture ought to be considered as a nuisance, the other as a great blessing.

EVERY manufacturer in England and Ireland is reckoned to be in himself a certain market to the product of the lands of at least ten pounds per Annum for his maintenance, and of one pound per Annum, to the rents of the lands, for his lodging. Consequently every manufacturer employed in Ireland is a gain of eleven pounds per Annum, to that kingdom, and every one that is driven out of that country, for want of employment, or obliged to be maintained by the parish, may be said to be eleven pounds per Annum loss to the kingdom; and this difference being taken out of the scale of wealth in our country and thrown into that of an enemy, is well deserving our consideration.

THEREFORE if encouragement to manufacture Irish wools will keep up the price of the product of the lands of Ireland (as consumption of all commodities necessarily causes the advance of prices); if it will bring home numberless manufacturers, who have found employment in other countries, and enable

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able their poor to maintain themselves, who are now a charge to the several parishes they belong to ; if it will encrease the employment and subsistence of their poor ; it must be the interest of Ireland to manufacture her own wools, prohibit the importation of Spanish wools, and discountenance and prevent the running their raw wools to France ; which must ever be detrimental to the woollen manufactures of both England and Ireland.

IF this kind of union proposed between England and Ireland, with respect to a liberty of exporting to England such woollen Goods as Ireland shall manufacture, should be agreeable to both kingdoms ; I am convinced no gentleman in Ireland will consent to the running of raw wools to France. If he is able to procure but a nursery of spinners upon his estate ; the produce of their labour (though of all labour on wools the most sparingly paid for) will keep up the price of the product of his lands, which will be much more advantageous to him than what he can possibly gain by permitting the wools that grow on his lands to be sold or sent into France.

IF this union should not be agreeable to both kingdoms, and that the people of Ireland shall be obliged to wear (as they now are) what woollen goods they manufacture, we are of opinion, it has been fully shewed that it
is

is not the interest of that kingdom to wear Spanish cloths, if manufactured in Ireland, which must bring such numbers of their poor to the parish for subsistence, or oblige them to quit the country, for want of employment, who might be subsisted by their labour on Irish wools, without any charge to the landed interest.

FOR, if such of their poor as could not be employed in manufacturing their wools fully, were continued to be encouraged as they have been to spin their surplus wools for exportation to England, their poor might be employed and subsisted; since it is evident, by the price we have paid them for their spinning, that the labour of the comber and spinner is equal to the first cost of the wool; and as England has taken for many years past very large quantities of their yarn, the poor of Ireland have earned many thousands a year by their spinning, and not less for the wool so spun, which will appear from the following computation. A ball of wool consists of one pound and half of combed wool, which at twelve shillings per stone of sixteen pounds, costs thirteen - pence half - penny; when spun into skains of yarn, is sold from two shillings and three-pence, to three shillings per ball, according to the number of skains into which it is spun.

I SHALL take the lowest price for my valuation. If, therefore, a ball of wool, that costs

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costs but thirteen-pence half-penny, when spun into yarn, is sold for two shillings and three-pence; it appears that the money earned by the comber and spinner is equal to the first cost of the wool.—Consequently, if the poor of Ireland were employed to manufacture their surplus wools, no farther than through the hands of the combers and spinners, numbers might be maintained, and Ireland would become a nursery for England, (but never can be so, while her poor are engrossed by the high prices now given for the spinning of Spanish wools,) and the landed interest of Ireland would be considerable gainers by their poor being so far employed, since it must greatly benefit a nation, to be saved from the charge of maintaining its poor.

THE gentlemen of Ireland may imagine they receive their rents from their tenants; but it is the consumer that pays them both the price of their wools, and of the product of their lands.

IF their artificers and manufacturers are obliged to quit the country, for want of employment, the consumption of the product must be greatly lessened; therefore all prudent ways ought to be tried, to keep those at home, that are willing to work, and to induce them to return, who have been obliged to seek for subsistence abroad.

EVERY one, who lives in that country, and wears the manufactures of Irish wools, ought to be considered for what he wears,
eats

eats and drinks, as a tenant to the lands, and a pay-master to the workmen.

How many such tenants the gentlemen of Ireland may keep in that country, and how many old ones they may prevail on to return, by discouraging the running of their wools to France, encouraging the manufacturing their own, and prohibiting the importation of Spanish, I have endeavoured to shew; which is submitted to the consideration of the gentlemen of that kingdom.

I SHALL next consider the advantages England will have, by consenting to the importation of such woollen goods, as Ireland shall send us, under a duty at importation, to be drawn back only on exportation to foreign countries.

THE accounts that were published the year after the peace of Utrecht, of the great quantities of Irish wools, that were run out of Ireland, and imported, in one year, into France, so alarmed our manufactures and landed gentlemen of England, that we have ever since endeavoured to make the most effectual laws to prevent the exportation of the wools of that country; and are now at a great annual expence by the many ships stationed on the coasts of Ireland for that purpose; but notwithstanding have been unwilling to receive any proposals, that have been offered to the consideration of parliament, to prevent this evil, if such proposals had the least tendency to a free liberty of exportation
of

of the woollen manufactured goods of that kingdom.

HOWEVER just our apprehensions were forty years ago, there is not the least room for them now; since Ireland does not produce, at present, two thirds of the wools, that were supposed to be the growth of the country at that time.

THE decrease of their sheep has been owing, not only to the very great danger and difficulty the people of Ireland found in sending their wools to France, under the severe laws we made to prevent it, but to several acts of parliament, which have been made in that kingdom since the year 1714.

By the act to encourage tillage, every farmer in Ireland is obliged to plough a certain number of acres, in every hundred, which he holds by lease. This obligation, together with the great difficulty and risque in sending their wools to France, obliged many people to plough up their pasture grounds, which lessened their sheep throughout the kingdom; for they found a certain market for their corn, instead of an uncertain one for their wool.

THE several acts for encouraging the linen manufactures of that kingdom have been another cause of lessening the growth of their wools: since it is well known, that they have no more sheep in the north of Ireland, where that manufacture is established, than are suffi-

cient for the necessary subsistence of the people.

THESE considerations should entirely remove our former apprehensions; and convince us, that they cannot have the quantity of wools, which they had before these acts of parliament were made.

WE ought to examine, what the wools of that country are at present, and what we have to fear if the wools, which their own people cannot consume in apparel, were fully manufactured, and exported to us, and from hence re-exported to such foreign countries, as we trade to.

WE are very certain, that we may grow less considerable in foreign markets, but cannot be more so, while the French continue to procure the wools of Ireland; and since we have made so many laws to prevent it, and that it is evident they have been ineffectual, we should try other ways and means to stop the evil we have so long complained of. For, since by long experience we find, that the people of Ireland are not, by any laws, to be forced from this pernicious practice of selling their wools to France, and that neither punishments nor penalties can prevent it, I am clearly of opinion, our condition cannot be worse than it is at present, if we permit them to send us such woollen goods, (under the restrictions, that have been mentioned, and such other as shall be suggested, when we consider the

the objections that may be made against such proposal) as they shall manufacture, for exportation, which will effectually put a stop to their sending or selling wool to France; because they will then find it more their own interest to prevent it, than it is now their interest to connive at and encourage it.

THE many creeks, and by-places on the coast of Ireland are so well known to the French, that their agents, notwithstanding the many difficulties that attend it, will be always able to procure a loading of wool; for, the farmer, whose lands lie contiguous to the sea, will be as ready to sell, as the French are to buy. But, these temptations will cease, if the farmer finds that he can have a market near his own home for his wools, when spun only; because, the French can give no price for the small quantity of wool, that he has to sell, that can be equal to the advantage the farmer will have by it's being so far manufactured.

AFTER the last declaration of war against Spain, the wools of Ireland sold at a much higher price than they were ever known at before. When they exceed 10s. per stone of 16 pounds, our manufactures cannot afford to purchase them. But as the prohibiting the importation of Spanish wools into Ireland, will occasion a greater plenty of their spinning, we shall have more of their surplus wools, so far manufactured, and thereby lessen the quantity, they would otherwise

fully manufacture themselves. We do not buy the Irish spinning for it's fineness, (our own people spin much finer) but on account of it's nature and quality.

It is very useful to our weavers, in mixing with our own spinning, and making several sorts of goods for foreign markets; and on that account only we buy it. But if we cannot take from them, in spinning, such wools as they have more than are requisite for the cloathing of their own people, we must give them leave to export, fully manufactured, what they cannot consume; or, the French will certainly take from them their wools unmanufactured. They are not (as we are) limited by price; for by the help of one pack of Irish wools, France manufactures two of her own, without which they are useless to her for foreign markets, notwithstanding the wools she procures from Germany, Portugal, Barbary, and Turkey.

THE wools of France are short and coarse; they are not (to speak in a manufacturer's phrase) so fine in the thread, or so long in the staple as those of Ireland; for which reason, France can ever give double the price that we can afford for the wools of that country; which I shall shew more fully hereafter. This proves, how dangerous an enemy we have to encounter, and that nothing can prevent France from buying them, but making it the interest of Ireland to manufacture their wools; which engages me to think, that the
best

best law that can be made, to prevent France from procuring the wools of Ireland, will be, to permit the people of that country to send their manufactured woollen goods to England, under a duty at importation, to be drawn back on exportation to foreign countries.

I HAVE already shewn the quantity of wool, by estimation, that Ireland yearly produces, and what value these wools may be manufactured into by their own people, upon the importation of Spanish wool being prohibited. I shall now consider what number of people there are in that kingdom, what their own consumption must be of the wools they may manufacture, what quantity of wool we have taken from them before the present war, how much in woollen yarn, and how much in worsted yarn, and to what value the surplus wools of Ireland, if fully manufactured, will amount. The exportation to England of this last article, is the whole we have to fear from the union proposed, which I shall shew cannot be manufactured into such a quantity of cloth, or other woollen goods, as will prejudice England to receive, for exportation. On the contrary, I am of opinion, the encouragement to manufacture and export it, will be the means of encreasing and extending our commerce.

THE people of Ireland are computed at one million six hundred sixty-six thousand. I shall suppose the one half of their people to be men and boys, and the other half women

and girls; and that every man and every boy in Ireland wears, or is the occasion of consuming, the value of 20 s. of woollen goods yearly; and that every woman and every girl wears, or is the occasion of consuming, 5 s. in woollen goods yearly.

THEN, eight hundred thirty-three thousand men and boys at 20 s. per Annum, will consume in Irish woollen goods £. 833,000

AND eight hundred thirty-three thousand women and girls at 5 s. per Annum 208,250

THEREFORE, the amount of woollen goods, wore in apparel and consumed in furniture of such houses as they inhabit, will be 1,041,250

As the richer kind of people in Ireland are buried in woollens, according to act of parliament, I shall allow for burials in woollens 20,000

£. 1,061,250

THEN, if all the wools Ireland yearly produces were fully manufactured, and that England took from them neither raw wools, worsted or woollen yarns, the value of the surplus wools fully manufactured would be 378,750

Total £. 1,440,000
I FIND

I FIND we imported from Ireland from
March 25, 1743, to March 25, 1744,

In raw wools,———great stones	19,993
In worsted yarn	68,622
In woollen yarn	15,224
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stones	103,839

IF we take yearly the same quantity of unmanufactured wools, worsted and woollen yarns, that we have done last year, which I shall compute only at one hundred thousand great stones, we shall prevent their fully manufacturing as much of the wools of Ireland as I have computed when fully manufactured by themselves, would amount to 1.300,000

THEREFORE, admitting there is no objection to the value in woollen goods, which I have computed to be the yearly consumption of the people of Ireland, not only in apparel, but in bedding, house furniture, and burials, all the woollen goods Ireland can fully manufacture for exportation will amount to no more than 1.78,750

IN order to remove the apprehensions that may arise in our clothiers and manufacturers, that this value in Irish woollen goods, if exported to England for re-exportation to foreign countries, may hurt the sale of our own manufactures abroad; I shall consider, what value in woollen goods France will be prevented from vending at foreign markets

which she now supplies, by procuring the surplus wools of Ireland, that may be manufactured into that sum.

I SHALL suppose, that France has been able to procure yearly no more Irish wools than, when fully manufactured, I have computed would produce this seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, which I calculate at seventeen hundred and fifty packs of two hundred forty pounds weight each.

I SHALL likewise suppose, that what France purchases are the best Irish wools, for which she pays 16 s. the great stone, (at which price the fine wools of that country were sold in 1744) and that all risks, hazards, insurances and freights being accounted for, those wools, when landed in France, cost the manufacturer 20 s. per stone.

BY the best information obtained in France, we learn that their people manufacture two packs of their own wools by the help of one pack of Irish. I shall, therefore, suppose their own wools worth 5 s. the great stone, and when mixed with Irish wools at 20 s. the stone, that the manufacturer in France has three packs of wools at 10 s. the stone medium price.

I HAVE

I HAVE computed that the ſurplus
wools of Ireland, which France
now procures, are ſeventeen hun-
dred fifty packs, which make in
great ſtones of ſixteen pound to
the ſtone ſtones 26,250

To which I shall add double that quantity of French wools, which the manufacturers of France work up by the help of this quantity of Irish

Total stones 78,750

THEREFORE, the French manufacturers, by the help of twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty stones of Irish wools, have seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty stones of wools proper for such manufactures as we carry on ; which wools, on an average, will cost them only 10 s. per stone. Then seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty stones, at 10 s. per stone, cost the manufacturer in France £. 39,375

AND when fully manufactured for sale, allowing for labour, as I have done on the like value of wools manufactured in England, the amount will be £. 196,875

IF these calculations are near the mark, it plainly appears, that we have nothing to fear from giving

giving Ireland a liberty of exporting to England such manufactured woollen goods, as her own people cannot consume; since by encouraging Ireland, we shall prevent France from procuring her wools, who thereby is enabled to supply the foreign markets with goods of her own manufacture, to the value of - - - £. 196,875

IF France can send to foreign markets such considerable quantities of woollen goods, by procuring seventeen hundred and fifty packs of Irish wools, of what consequence ought those wools to be to England! And since we know that such a quantity, and a much greater, may be sent yearly out of England, we should endeavour to prevent the running of it from England, as well as Ireland; which I am far from thinking an impossible scheme.

IF the preventing the running of this quantity of Irish wools will enable us to send to foreign markets as much woollen goods as will, when manufactured, be worth one hundred ninety-six thousand eight hundred and seventy-five pounds more than we now export; I am humbly of opinion, we ought to make a new experiment, and consent to the people of Ireland's sending their manufactured woollen goods to England; for we may be certain of manufacturing and vending more cloth, and other woollen goods, as the French are deprived of the means of
sup-

supplying the foreign demands. And as all the goods that the surplus wools of Ireland can be manufactured into, will not amount to one half of what France will be prevented from supplying, we must furnish the rest from our own manufactures. And if France has been able to procure a larger quantity of Irish wools, yearly, than I have supposed, we shall be able to manufacture so much the greater quantity for foreign markets, as she is obliged to manufacture the less.

WE have nothing to fear from any encouragement we give Ireland to manufacture, if we can prevent the French from procuring the wools of that country; for when the plague raged at Marseilles, the demands for woollen goods from foreign countries were so large, that the wools of both England and Ireland were insufficient to supply them; which plainly shewed how largely France had been concerned in the markets abroad, and what a quantity of her own coarse wools she must have worked up, by the help and assistance of the wools of that kingdom.

THE camblets of Ireland are goods the Portuguese have been a long time accustomed to wear, and that they will have, and do procure these goods from Ireland, appears from the ships we have taken, bound with such goods to Portugal; and the Irish will continue that trade, notwithstanding our guard-ships, and the encouragement our commanders of men of war have to
search,

search, unless we make it their own interest to discourage it. All that our manufacturers have been able to do, has not been sufficient to prevail with Portugal to approve of the camblets we make. I am convinced the consumption of that article would be greatly encreased there, if the people of Ireland were permitted to export those camblets to us, under a duty at importation, to be drawn back on exportation from England; their profit would be more certain than it can be at present, and it would put a stop to all attempts to run such goods for the future, and be a great encouragement to their working up more of their surplus wools, and consequently of lessening the temptation of selling them to France. Our merchants would have a commission on receiving and forwarding, perhaps on sales; our packers would have the benefit of repacking, and our ships of carrying.

IF it be objected, that the exportation of such other woollen goods as Ireland may send us will interfere with the exportation of our own; I am of opinion it cannot. For if France be prevented from procuring the wools of Ireland, there will be a demand in foreign markets, not only for the same quantity of woollen goods which we now supply, but for as much more as France did formerly supply; and we shall sell not only to the amount of what I have computed the surplus wools of Ireland may be manu-

manufactured into, but also near double that value, which France would have been able to sell of her own manufactured wools, by the help of the surplus wools of that kingdom.

IF it be objected, that when the duties laid on the Irish woollen goods at importation are drawn back on the exportation from England, that the Irish woollen goods can be sold cheaper in foreign markets, than goods of the same kind manufactured in England, by reason of the cheapness of provisions, and low price of labour in Ireland; I answer, That we shall have in our own hands a remedy, when it is convenient to use it, *by permitting such goods to draw back only a part of the duties paid at importation, as we find can be sold cheaper in foreign markets.* By which we shall bring the value of such Irish woollen goods upon a par with our own, on exportation from England; so that there will be no temptation to the buyers for exportation to take the one before the other.

BUT as the great end aimed at by Great Britain should be to sell woollen manufactures full as cheap to foreign nations as France or any other country can do; and if England cannot do this, she ought (till she shall be capable so to do, by the means which run through these papers) some how to make use of Ireland to effect that great end. Now, as the drawing back only a
part

part of such duty as should be laid upon the Irish manufactures imported into England might not render the woollen goods of Ireland cheap enough to undersell France, this expedient will not answer the essential point England ought to have in view; and therefore, if it should be judged consistent with the interest of England to admit of the importation of the Irish woollen goods, it might be more eligible that Ireland should allow a parliamentary equivalent to England annually for such privilege; which would not fall upon the woollen manufactures of Ireland so as to make their price be so dear as those of England; and that this annual parliamentary allowance given by Ireland to England should be appropriated as a bounty to the English woollen manufacturers, to enable them to sell as cheap as the Irish could; whereby both of them might be upon a level to undersell the French and others. But this incumbrance upon Ireland might, upon a proper union of the two kingdoms, be taken off, when England should be capable of selling her commodities in general as cheap as Ireland, or any other country can do: and how this may be happily accomplished, we humbly hope will satisfactorily appear throughout the course of our writings, when impartially weighed, and considered upon those national principles, we have endeavoured, to the best of our judgment, to support.

If

IF it be objected, that the people of Ireland will increase their sheep, when they have liberty to export what they manufacture, and that they may send us too great a quantity of their woollen goods for re-exportation ; I answer, That it must be some years before they can effect it ; and if they should so encrease their sheep, as to be able to export double the quantity, that I have computed their present surplus wools may be manufactured into for exportation, that quantity will not exceed what France now sells, by the help of the surplus wools of that country ; therefore we must continue to sell the same quantity we now send abroad.

AGAIN, if it be objected, that should the people of Ireland have liberty to export what they manufacture, they will sell us no more of their wools, or woollen or worsted yarn ; and that instead of their having but seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds value to export, they will export the whole value that I have computed their surplus wools might be manufactured into. I am of opinion we have little to fear from this objection ; for there will be always in England and Ireland as many people on the trade of buying the wools and yarns (for which we pay ready money) as there will be purchasers of their wools, fully manufactured, which, if sent here to be sold for exportation, must be on long credit ; and if sent abroad on their own accounts, will be
subject

subject to uncertain sales, and as uncertain payments. Besides, if there should be occasion, their wools may be made cheaper to us, and their woollen goods loaded with a duty at exportation from Ireland to England. But this would defeat the point of cheapness, to enable us to compete with foreign rivals.

IRELAND pays for a licence (together with fees) to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, for every thousand great stones of wool exported to England, about twenty-three pounds. If the Irish wools were exported to us, free of this charge, our manufacturers might purchase the wools of Ireland at all times near five per cent. cheaper than they now can, or hitherto have done; and in lieu of this income, which belongs to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, the parliament of that kingdom may fix a duty on all woollen goods, fully manufactured, on exportation to England, or rather find some other way to supply its place.

THIS would in some measure prevent their sending us too much of their wools, fully manufactured, and enable us to purchase more of their raw wools.

NEW experiments must be made; the people of Ireland must find a market for their surplus wools, manufactured or unmanufactured, or we cannot effectually distress France, enlarge our foreign woollen trade, or indeed be certain of supplying them ourselves

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selves with such goods as we now manufacture. I will admit, that from the cheapness of provisions, and low price of labour in Ireland, their poor are able to work cheaper than ours. They are not in Ireland bound by any parliamentary laws to provide for, and maintain for life, reduced and decayed housekeepers, and disabled and superannuated servants, as the people of England are, which obliges their poor to work for less prices than ours. But if we have a parliamentary equivalent from Ireland, which will enable England, as has been observed, to sell their goods as cheap as the Irish can, this will dissipate all our apprehensions of that kind.

WHAT we suffer Ireland to gain by the export of her woollen manufactured goods from England, can be no loss to us; in many instances we shall be gainers; by encouraging them to manufacture their wools, they will find it their own interest to sell none of them to France, by which we shall be tempted to manufacture the more of our own.

By prohibiting the importation of Spanish wools into Ireland, their manufacturers will be obliged to work up more of their own wools, and the people to wear more of their own manufactures; by which we shall have the less to fear from what they may be able to export.

By lessening the number of their fine spinners, we shall encrease the spinning of such worsted and woollen yarn, as we want

and take from them; which are so useful and necessary in our manufacturing several kinds of coarse goods, for our consumption, as well as exportation.

By allowing them to export their woollen goods to Great Britain, manufactories will be established in several counties in Ireland; their nobility and gentry will have such advantages by the settlement of workmen on their estates, that they will find it their own interest to discourage the running of wools, and to forbid their tenants to be aiding and assisting. By making Ireland a nursery of spinners for England, we shall have plenty of their spinning; and by making England a magazine for Irish woollen goods, fully manufactured, our merchants will have a commission on reception and forwarding, our dyers a profit on such white goods as they shall send us; our pressers the benefit of packing, and our shipping of better employment. By a good understanding between England and Ireland, our manufactures will be brought into greater esteem abroad; we then shall have nothing to fear from the low price of labour in France, with respect to coarse goods, which has obliged us for years past to manufacture such goods as would sell, although they brought discredit to our country.

By our woollen goods being demanded abroad, in proportion as France is unable to supply foreign markets, our landed gentlemen will

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will find their rents better paid, and their lands let at higher value. The encrease of our woollen manufactures will keep up the price of the product of the lands; as demand for goods not only employs our poor, but causes the advance of the price. The product of the lands of England is a considerable part of every manufacture: our rents are but the value paid for the product of the lands; therefore all the additional labour we encourage, which pays to the product of the lands, is so much added to the rents of the kingdom.

By preventing France from procuring the raw wools of Ireland, we shall not only undersell her, but speedily put it out of her power to answer the demands of those foreign countries, which she has for many years past been able to supply.

By permitting Ireland, under proper restrictions, till a perfect union should take place, to export such goods as she may manufacture of her own wools, the gentlemen of that kingdom may be prevailed on to wear no Spanish cloths, but such as we manufacture in England. The advantage of which I shall shew.

WE have already computed that the Spanish wools Ireland imported, from 1743 to 1744, might be manufactured into two thousand two hundred and eighty pieces of cloth; which, supposing each cloth twenty-six yards, would be fifty-seven thousand

yards. I find, that from the 25th of March, 1743, to the 25th of March, 1744, the importations of Spanish cloths into Ireland were twenty thousand nine hundred eighty-one yards and one quarter; therefore the yearly consumption of Spanish cloths in Ireland, seems to me to be seventy-seven thousand nine hundred eighty-one yards one quarter. We cannot prevent France from supplying foreign countries with their Spanish cloths; by their situation they always will have the Spanish wools cheaper than we can, and the low price of labour, and cheapness of provisions, in those provinces of France where Spanish cloths are manufactured, will ever enable them to vie with, if not undersell us in that manufacture. Their colours are as good as ours, and their wools, in this respect, as fine. But we have advantages peculiar to this nation, which they cannot take from us. Their cloths want the firmness in their texture and milling, that our cloths have, without which they never can dress them as we do; and if a small encouragement *by bounty on exportation*, was given by parliament on such Spanish cloths as we export to the Levant only, I am humbly of opinion we should wholly supply both the Turks and the Persians, especially if, to this end, we make the proper use of Ireland.

THEREFORE, since we have so powerful
a rival as France *in our Spanish wool manu-
factures*

factures, which of all our manufactures deserves our greatest attention, we should endeavour, by all prudent ways, to encourage and support it at home. Our silken manufactures greatly depend on it. A bale of Spanish cloths amounts to a large sum of money; consequently it is a means of increasing our balances against those countries, from which we receive a balance by our commerce; and on the other hand, of preventing a balance being too heavy against us with those countries, which by our large imports may have a balance against us.

By the modern dress of our nobility, gentry, and merchants, this manufacture appears daily decreasing among ourselves. I am convinced that the new-fashion goods we wear have lessened our consumption of Spanish cloths two-fifths of what it was a few years ago. If we suffer this manufacture to decay, *the French and Dutch will soon procure the hands we employ*; our poor must quit the country, or come to the lands for a maintenance; since it is well known, that a woman, who has spent the best of her days in spinning fine wools, cannot bring her fingers to make good work by spinning of coarse. I have already shewn, that if we consent to the people of Ireland's exporting their surplus wools, fully manufactured, the value of them cannot exceed seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds. And though we may think it our interest that no

Spanish cloths should be manufactured but in England, and to prohibit the importation of Spanish wools into Ireland; yet I am of opinion, the gentlemen of Ireland would wear but little of our Spanish cloths, if we prevented their manufacturing (though it is demonstrably their own interest) without giving them, in lieu thereof, a liberty of exporting such woollen goods as they could manufacture of their own wools.

THE consumption of Spanish cloths in that country in 1744, appears to be seventy-seven thousand nine hundred eighty-one yards; and we may expect they will yearly consume an equal quantity; which, at sixteen shillings per yard, will amount to 62385l.

THEREFORE, if they wear no Spanish cloths but what England shall manufacture, and we agree to their exportation of such woollen goods as they may manufacture more than are requisite for their own consumption, the balance we should yearly pay them would be but a trifle, if they took no woollen goods from us but Spanish cloths; whereas we do now, and always may, depend on supplying them, yearly, with *all new-fashion woollen goods, that are worn here*; since all dependent kingdoms take their fashions from the place where the court resides. We have had no reason to repent of the encouragement we have given to their
linen

linen manufactures; it has greatly enriched that country, which has been thereby more improved within these forty years past, than in one hundred before. We take *from them in linens five hundred thousand pounds per annum*, besides what they send directly to our plantations, and other countries; whereas, according to Dr. Davenant's report, in the year 1713, their whole exports of linen were computed at only eighty thousand pounds. We continue to favour their linens; and since we contribute so largely to support and encourage that manufacture, they ought in gratitude to support (as far as in their power lies) a manufacture that is of as great consequence to England, as the linens are to that kingdom.

THEREFORE I am humbly of opinion, that a union between England and Ireland, with respect to their woollen manufactures, must be advantageous to both kingdoms; and will be the means of effectually preventing France from procuring the wools of that country.

To induce England to think maturely on a matter of this high consequence to her interests, I would beg leave to mention two articles only, which might not produce less advantage to the kingdom than four or five hundred thousand pounds a year; wherein Ireland might immediately be made useful to rival the French in the woollen trade;

and these are, first, the article of *black druggets*, which the French send in abundance to Portugal; the other is in that of Turkey cloths; both which the French undersell England in; and we never can retrieve these trades till we shall be able to sell equally cheap, and equally good.

D I S.



DISSERTATION XIV.

Of the union of England and Ireland continued.

EXPERIENCE having shewn that England has scarce ever exercised her power in commercial affairs but she has suffered for it, it behoves the wisdom of the nation to think seriously of every *faux pas* that she has made, in order to rectify the same, upon solid principles reciprocally and permanently interesting to both kingdoms.

THIS is demonstrable in two very capital instances.

1. BY the act to prohibit Irish cattle.
2. BY the destruction of the woollen manufacture of that kingdom.

WITH relation to the former we have spoken, in the preceding discourses; to which, we apprehend, it needless to urge more, and especially so, since it is now generally allowed destructive.

THE effects of the second also have been too long experienced, and therefore requires effectual redress, if we resolve to enable ourselves

selves to maintain a competition in trade with our most formidable enemies.

AFTER apprehensions that the value of our lands should be lessened by the improvement of Ireland, had produced the destructive prohibition of Irish cattle; the people of that country being necessitated to find out some other employment for their lands, turned their thoughts to the breeding of sheep, and raised a growth of wool, in order, as it were, to avail themselves thereof, as a compensation for the loss they sustained—No sooner was this effected, but a prohibition ensued on our part to export the manufactures made in Ireland of that wool. This prohibition on the Irish has tended to the ruin of the woollen trade of Britain, and raised that of France; for unless, as has been shewn, the Irish shall, in some shape or other be suffered to work up their own wool, and export their own woollen goods, they will continue to sell their raw wool to the best bidder, which is to France; the injurious consequences thereof to our woollen trade has been proved; and been shewn to be far more detrimental and destructive to Britain, than the opening the exports of woollen goods from Ireland would be: and France, by lessening her taxes in time of peace, and enabling her thereby to work cheap, could afford to give large prices for Irish wool, especially, by the means of bartering their brandies and their wines for Irish wool; and thereby

thereby France has long become the chief market for woollen goods to most parts of Europe, having, by these means, raised for exportation an immense cheap saleable manufacture, which their own wool alone could never have effected. As the woollen trade of France has encreased, that of Britain has declined; and though these are still encreasing therein, even in times of war, by virtue of their numerous neutral carriers, and England is more and more declining in this their great staple commodity; yet still this fear, or rather infatuation, in regard to the value of our lands, makes us persist in a prohibition that not only injures the Irish, and ruins ourselves, but enriches and aggrandises the French: for as the case at present stands, either Ireland or France must have the woollen manufactures, unless Britain will resolve to take the effectual measures to enable her to sell as cheap as France can do; for by reason of our heavy and encreasing taxes and monopolies that make labour dear, England cannot be capable of keeping the trade.

THE Irish export clandestinely some camblets to Lisbon, and undersell the French. Should not this convince the English, that, they may make use of the Irish to recover the woollen trade out of their hands, till they shall be able to do it themselves in concert with Ireland? And shall we complement the French with so estimable a branch of our
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commerce that we deny to our own subjects? Especially so, when one third at least, of what Ireland shall gain will center at length in England? And shall we refuse the Irish such gains, which they might wrest out of the hands of enemies?

WE suffered also in a third instance, by our restraints on Ireland, which was in the prohibition of importing certain commodities directly from the plantations to Ireland, without touching first upon England.

DURING this law, the price of these commodities, as pitch, and tar, &c. were so raised by such difficulty, that Ireland paid above 100,000 l. per Annum, to foreign nations, for what they might have had, and now have from our own, since this prohibition has been taken off, after the nation had laboured under that restriction half a century.

THE consequences of the destruction of the woollen trade in Ireland were: 1. The expulsion of 20,000 manufacturers at once from that country. 2. Their retreat into foreign countries. 3. The establishment thereupon of the woollen manufacture in almost all parts of Europe. 4. The exportation of English and Irish wool. 5. The gradual and notorious decay of the woollen trade from that time.

FROM these notorious consequences we should observe, that the decay of our woollen trade

trade does not arise from the exportation of Irish wool. That were to make an effect a cause.

To ascribe the misfortune of the retreat of manufacturers from Ireland, and the establishment of foreign manufactures, as a cause, would be equally wrong likewise: these being but natural effects of one and the same destructive cause, and proceeding from a vain and groundless expectation in England to engross the whole woollen manufacture to themselves, from Ireland, who should have shared the same with them upon such principles of policy, as would have tended to the mutual interest of both, and have prevented those fatal consequences, which we have too long experienced; and that for want of this matter being put in such a national point of view as to induce men in power to pay a due regard to it.

THE argument which proves that any one branch of trade should be confined to any one part of these dominions, exclusive of the rest, properly circumstanced to carry the same on against rival nations to the best advantage, exclusive of the rest, will tend to prove, that even that part shall be again divided to the prejudice of a part of itself: thus, if Great Britain argues, that Ireland should have no trade in wool, the rest of Great Britain may argue that Yorkshire ought to be excluded too: and thus we may argue down the manufacture, by a parity of reasoning,
into

into one county, and thence into one town, nay, even into one house in that town, and to one manufacturer in that house: An argument certainly, which proves that the woollen manufacture of Great Britain would be most advantageous when there was but one man employed in it, will hardly be allowed a good one; such proving too much, proves it's absurdity.

LET us open our minds, upon an occasion of such high concernment to the national prosperity: let us think in a more generous manner than we have hitherto done: let us think that our brethren of Ireland have an equal right to liberty, and to all the advantages of human nature with ourselves, when it is apparent that the kingdoms interest requires it: let us credit this important truth; that nations are only powerful, in proportion as they shall be *wisely united and cemented in interests*: and let us understand, that no people can be thus united, where equal liberty, and equal advantages, are not permitted upon the principles of sound national policy.

KINGDOMS may admit of monopolies as well as private companies; and the most horrid monopoly of all is, where, in a kingdom composed of many different states, one state is suffered to assume, or engross any particular advantage, to the exclusion of the rest; when such exclusion gives the foreign rival

val and enemy the advantage over all of them.

SUCH monopolies are not found in absolute monarchies, even in the worst of governments: but absolute monarchies are the only governments in which they may be suffered. They cannot be maintained without force; and force may be allowed in absolute governments, because no liberty can be lost: but where liberty can be lost, force cannot be admitted, but it will be lost. The liberty, therefore, of Great Britain, as things are now circumstanced, depends in a great measure upon the freedom of the people of Ireland, as we have shewn. And,

THE commerce of that kingdom has been proved to depend upon their reasonable liberty in trade: what then should give us cause to hesitate a moment in regard to their proper union with England at this time, when the most solid union is so essential to the well-being of both? Give them a due representative power; make them the same people with: the same constitution must take away all objection, if there should be any now? Is it the fear of being underfold by them, that prevents this great design? Whose fear can this be? It cannot be the fear of the public, for it is well known, that every thing gained by Ireland centers in Britain at last. It cannot be the fear of the public, because,

cause, as has been shewn, nothing but the due encouragement of their trade in concert with that of England, can save the whole national commerce. It must be then the fear of private men: of what private men? Those whose estates arise from wool: those, who manufacture wool? They imagine their estate must fall upon such a change.

BUT their estates are now raised too high to suffer any commerce to thrive, or to continue in our favour, and their labour is too dear. This is the present case of England: and I have proved, how England may remedy this, without sustaining any disadvantage, and sell her commodities as cheap as Ireland, or France, or any other nation in the world.

IF England will have commerce, they must cultivate more and more land; which will fall their estates and their labour to lower rates: if they will suffer no commerce, their estates will produce them nothing—Their labour will not be wanted. Which is then preferable? That their estates should lower in their value, from the principles I have reasoned on; or that they should produce them nothing?—That their labour should fall in price, or that they should never labour? They are likely to ruin their estates, and their arts and labours, by raising their nominal, or imaginary value. They can save them only by reducing them from those maxims of policy,

licy, which we have endeavoured to recommend and enforce. Had England no other cause to apprehend the ruin wherewith she is threatened, her commerce itself, which might prove her everlasting salvation, must, as it is circumstanced, prove her everlasting ruin. She has both fettered and incumbered herself with too much precipitation; and there is a *ne plus ultra* in all nature.

THIS truth is more evident in trade, than in any other thing. For that the low price of commodities and labour, which is the foundation of it, is changed into the very contrary, by it's continuance.

PETTY states may, therefore, soon be gorged by beneficial traffic, and as soon be ruined by it. Great countries have this advantage: as they rise slower, so they fall later. But England, in the management of her commerce, has lost this advantage, which was natural to her; by confining commerce too much to herself, independant of her other dominions, she is, in effect to be considered, as a petty state: and like such will be quickly ruined, if she does not adopt other principles of policy than she has done.

To have avoided this impending ruin, England should have admitted Ireland to have shared more of the profits in trade with her than she has suffered: and to recover this error in her political system, she must act upon the same principles: she is bloated with debts and taxes, with paper credit and

paper circulation ; and she must submit to reduce herself in these imaginary treasures and real evils : if she does not, she will be more severely reduced by other means.

LET the interests of private men, therefore, no longer blind the public. But these are not the interests of private men ; they are false principles, which the selfishness of the times render favourable to the majority. Is it the interest of private men to neglect a certain profit, for imaginary gain ? For gain impossible ? For gain, if possible, yet nationally destructive ? A nation circumstanced like Britain, has been sufficiently proved to be incapable of engrossing commerce to the exclusion of it's other dependent states : but it's other dependent states having a due share of it, upon a right foundation of united policy, may for ever preserve the whole.

A PARTIAL and monopolizing commerce by any branch of the state, will always, in the end, prove destructive to the whole : but to admit Ireland to a reasonable freedom in the British commerce, must be certain gain, which other rival nations will otherwise eternally supplant Britain in : For Ireland would gain by a freedom of trade ; and what Ireland gains England could not lose. Ah, but this must come out of some branch of our own manufactures ! As, suppose, their gain on the woollen manufactures : this gain, say we, will come out of our woollen manufactures.

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LET it be considered, whether we can keep our manufactures as we are? If we can—Why so much noise and clamour upon the subject? Why such universal complaints amongst our manufacturers? Application to parliament, and committees appointed to consider those complaints and applications? Why bills brought in to parliament from year to year to secure it by partial and unnatural policy, when the simple natural will do the business effectually?

If we cannot keep our own manufactures as we are;—How would the gain of the Irish be out of the manufacture of England? On the contrary, the gain of the Irish must, in such case, arise out of the woollen manufacture of those countries, which will succeed us in it? And who will succeed in it? Or rather, who has already got it from us? France in the principal part.

THE gain of the Irish then, in the woollen manufacture, must be a gain upon the manufacture of France. If to permit the woollen trade of Ireland, to be a gain upon France; to prohibit the woollen trade to Ireland, must be a gain to France: and shall Britain contend for the gain of France, our ancient and our perfidious enemy?

COULD the Irish recover the lost woollen trade of England? Or rather, can we recover it any other way than by that means, and those other which we have connected therewith throughout our writings? If we can,

why have we never taken those other ways? If we cannot, shall we refuse to make this experiment of a union?

BUT the Irish can recover our woollen trade. 1. Because they can absolutely undersell our rivals in that manufacture. 2. Because, if they manufactured at home, they would export no raw wool, or woollen yarn, to foreign manufactories: and without their wool, or woollen yarn, of their growth, those foreign manufactories must be annihilated.

As to the first, it is notorious that the Irish do it: they have a clandestine trade in stuffs to Lisbon: the French trade thither also, and so do we, in the same commodities. The Irish undersell both the French, and us.—The English manufacturers complain of this clandestine trade.—The French dislike it with more reason: for, if it were possible to prevent it, and it were prevented, the French would come into the place of the Irish; but the English would be underfold as much as ever.

As to the second argument, that if the Irish were allowed the manufacture of wool, they would export no wool, or woollen yarn to France.

THIS is evident, from the nature of the thing, without multiplying words.—Men study their profits, and this would be manifestly against their profits—Wool manufactured is worth five times as much as wool
unma-

unmanufactured : and, therefore, to sell their wool abroad, would prove a loss to them, unless they sold it for five times what they sold it for at home : and if they who bought it, gave but one third of that price, they could not use it, when they had bought it.

THIS all Ireland must see ; and therefore will unite to prevent it : whereas it is feared that all Ireland has long done, and still does find it's for her interest to promote it.

IMPEACH this argument. — Allow some wool and yarn would still be run ; would not the quantity be extremely less ? — Being less, would it not be dearer ? — Would not the manufactures arising out of that commodity, in consequence, diminish in quantity, and augment in price ? And what other method can be taken, better to destroy a rival manufacture, than to diminish it's quantity, and augment it's price ?

To pursue the same question :--Is it doubted that the Irish wool and yarn be necessary to the manufactures of France ? We are told, by all who have been conversant with that business, that they cannot carry on the trade to foreign markets without them. They may make very coarse cloths of their own wool, which serve in some degree for their ordinary home consumption. They make the finest cloths with Spanish wool ; but the cloths for exportation and general use, are of a middle sort, and cannot be made without a

mixture of Irish wool.—This we are told.—This the French have acknowledged.—It is too notorious to be questioned.—But if we were not told it: if it were not acknowledged by the French themselves, is not the matter self evident?

I. Do not the French consume greater quantities, at far greater prices, than their own wool and woollen yarn can bear? Would they act so wild a part as to do this, if it were not necessary to their manufacture?

2. Do not the very manufactures of England depend, in a great measure, on the woollen yarn of Ireland, by opening all our ports for it's reception?—If they do! the manufactures of France must do it in a much greater degree: for the wool of France differs far more than the wool of England, from the wool of Ireland, But whether they do, enquire of the manufacturers of Bristol, and of those of Norwich: they will tell you that they cannot work without it.

To reduce also this argument below its full force; not that we may suit it more to reason, but that we may render it less obnoxious to prejudice and passion.—Let us suppose it strong only in part.—Let us suppose the wool of Ireland necessary only to France, for such manufactures as the same is necessary to in England.—Would not the woollen manufacture established in Ireland confound the commerce of France for so much? Is not this species of manufacture a
very

very considerable branch of the woollen trade? would not, therefore, the establishment of the woollen trade of Ireland destroy the commerce of France, in a considerable branch of the woollen trade? As we now stand, are we able to destroy it in any branch? —It is allowed we cannot.—If it is allowed we cannot, shall we not employ the people of Ireland who can?

LET us here observe one circumstance. In whatever branches of manufacture the Irish or the English wool is employed in France, it works up twice as much of the French wool: thus one thousand stone of Irish or English wool produces three thousand stone of French manufacture. If the Irish, therefore, were now allowed to work up all their wool, they could but manufacture one third of that quantity. This is the only quantity, or only kind of cloth in France for their exportation, and the greatest part of it is employed in exportation.

THUS all the cloth of France for exportation is destroyed; yet the Irish gain but one third of that exportation. The demand for cloth abroad must continue the same.—There must then remain two-thirds of that demand unsatisfied.—Who can satisfy this demand? Foreigners cannot, from the nature of their wool. The Irish cannot, because they have not quantity sufficient.—The English therefore must.

THUS shall we, the English, possibly benefit as much again by opening the Irish commerce, as the Irish can do themselves ; for of the ruins of the French manufactures, two-thirds must demonstrably fall into English hands, if the proper means be pursued to effect it, as we apprehend have been proved to be rational and effectual.

By this plain policy, may we recover the woollen trade, and that in a way, for as short a time, and in as small a degree, detrimental to the rents of England, as can possibly be conceived. The greater demand of the commodity which must ensue, will keep up the price of the commodity, and consequently of the lands of England. The greater consumption must employ the poor.

If the rents of England can, at length, from all we have suggested throughout this work, be maintained upon the footing on which they now stand, they will be maintained upon that footing by our united measures, for ever ; which seems to promise to confine the whole woollen trade for exportation to such countries as cannot supply themselves, to Great Britain and Ireland. If the lands cannot be maintained upon this footing, we shall have the consolation to perceive, after they are once fallen to their due standard, that they will daily rise upon such a foundation, as will maintain them when they are risen.

BUT, on the other hand, we may with modesty presume to say, that no other schemes

schemes can effect the great end of regaining the woollen trade, and supplanting France and all other rivals therein, than those we have proposed throughout the whole tenor of our works.—Our woollen manufactures must be totally lost—The rest of our trade must follow—The rents of the whole kingdom will be every where reduced. A dismal poverty, a general distress, an universal discontent, faction, tumult, civil war, anarchy, and tyranny will sink us, by the natural succession, into the circumstance of an Asiatic province; from which we shall never rise: and this state will save France, or any other state the trouble or expence of going to war with us to make their conquest; for we have long been at war with ourselves in our trade, and in all our system of politics.

A GENERAL infatuation, of late years, seems to have seized this nation. We court our own ruin more eagerly than other countries seek their interests.

THE interests of England, as they are now understood, are the interests of particulars against the public. There is no settled interest, no national interest. It is private, local, personal.

THUS our maxims are grown absurd, arbitrary, and contradictory in their own nature. And our conduct (the result of these maxims) such as runs counter to the very first lights of human reason, passionate, violent, and oppressive to the minor part of the society,

society, calculated by the major also to their own ruin. From having being bought out of our reason in grand instances, it is grown a natural habit to neglect the use of it in all; and from having been accustomed to part with it to our private interest, it has fled so far from us, that we have the use of it no longer to direct us truly to any one interest of the public.

ENGLAND hath no mines of gold, or silver, or of precious stones. Her only riches are its trade. Trade cannot exist under heavy taxes; yet our taxes daily increase. Trade cannot exist in a country where the price of land is excessive dear, when the trade of that country principally arises from its own product. Our trade arises from our own product, and our land is dearer than in any part of Europe, excepting Holland, whose commerce does in no sort depend upon it.

OUR trade, therefore, cannot exist, unless our taxes be diminished—Or unless we reduce the price of our lands—Or turn our commerce upon foreign product.

WE have no hope, according to our old system, to see our taxes sufficiently diminished.—The false interest of particulars will never suffer the second to be effected, till it effects itself; before which our commerce will be lost.—We have, therefore, nothing else to do, than to turn our commerce upon foreign product; that is, the product of coun-

countries where things are cheaper than they are with us.

FOREIGN product is proper or improper. Improper foreign product is the commodity, or manufacture of another people, entirely distinct from us in point of government, and in point of interest. Proper foreign product (a wrong term in itself, but used here to humour the narrow notions of the times) is the product of colonies, or countries united to us, or dependent on us.

COMMERCE, founded upon improper foreign product, is very expedient, and very profitable. Commerce, founded upon proper foreign product, is more expedient, more profitable, and more certain.

COMMERCE, in improper foreign product, employs an infinite number of people in navigation: its principal profits arise upon freight, and upon prudently buying in cheap times, to sell again in dear. The commerce of Holland is, in great part, of this kind. The commerce of the Genoese was anciently the same, and the commerce of England may be greatly enlarged hereby upon our principles.

BUT commerce of this kind may lose its channel, and suffer by many accidents; and, with respect to particular countries, be ruined by the wisdom of the opposite government. The profits of it must be less, because the nations you deal with being the root of the
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commerce, must have a great share in the gain.

BUT commerce founded upon proper foreign product (or the product of our own colonies, countries united to you, or in dependance on you) is a natural commerce, and ought to be as tenderly treated, and as much indulged, as that of the mother country; having no difference from her's, but as she is resolved to make a difference. It cannot easily be destroyed but by oppressing and distressing such a country; and oppression and distress will ruin commerce wherever it meets with them.

ITS profit is infinitely greater: for as the root of that commerce is our own, the whole of the gain is our own also. The main of the profit settles with us; so much only remaining in the colony, as may be sufficient to draw in more.

GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, has no better choice, than to ground our commerce on the industry and product of her colonies, and countries united to her, or dependent on her. And yet her maxims, with regard to all these countries, have been violent, and contradictory to their own intention.

VIOLENT — Because against the natural course of things, which requires every man to make the best advantage of the product of his land.—Because grounded upon manifest force; upon laws made upon a people
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who have never consented to them.—Because they cramp the trade of those countries—and because—that to forbid the export of any commodity to another country, is to command it to be sold at your own price to yourselves, which is nothing better than downright robbery.

CONTRADICTIONARY to their own intention, because they manifestly produce the ruin of the commerce of England, which they affect to support.

THE reflections that arise on a violent and contradictory conduct, with respect to government, are these:

THAT such a conduct must, in the end, destroy our constitution.

1. BY alienating the affections of a vast body of our fellow-subjects, who envying our superior privileges, will be ever ready to seize occasion to abridge them, and to reduce us to their own level of ruin.

2. BY obliging us to govern the people it is exercised upon, by a military force; which force may be as well employed against our liberties as theirs.

WITH respect to commerce, which is more immediately to our present point, such a conduct must entirely confound it.

1. BECAUSE a lively commerce is incompatible with a government by force: new people will never settle in such a country, the old inhabitants will fall from it.

2. BE-

2. BECAUSE no kind of manufacture, or branch of trade will flourish, where any is prohibited; for men are never satisfied; but that the power which has abolished one, may deprive them of any other.

THE genius of trade sickens under the reflection of a bare possibility of restraint; and therefore must grow very languid upon reflection, on an actual restraint, a restraint rendered perpetually present, although but by a single instance,

THUS must the conduct and maxims of Great Britain, with regard to her colonies, countries united to her, and dependent on her, destroy (not only her liberty, but) the commerce of those countries.

BUT it has been proved, and is evident, that her own cannot exist, without it now founds itself upon the commerce of those countries.

IT follows, therefore, that the present conduct and maxims of Great Britain, with respect to the commerce of those countries, if pursued farther, must ruin her own trade.

THE general conclusion, upon the whole, is this; that Great Britain, for the future, must change her conduct with respect to these countries.

IRELAND is the chief of these countries. —She must, therefore, chiefly change her conduct with regard to Ireland,

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As a merchant, in his particular sphere, employs the cheapest manufacturer he can find; so England, in her general merchandize, must employ the poor of Ireland, and the product of Ireland, as the cheapest she can find, till she can employ her own people upon an equality.

AND as men pour water into pumps, which once set moving, throw up water in return, as long as they require; in like manner must England give encouragement to Ireland; which encouragement will render infinite returns.

I SHALL, at present, urge no more upon the necessity of the union of Ireland with England, and therefore shall close the whole with a quotation from Mr. Trenchard, because he was sent to Ireland by the English parliament, as one of their faithfullest and ablest trustees, for the forfeited estates; and also as he is allowed to have known Ireland more, and understood its affairs better, than most gentlemen, who had no fortune or interest in it. It is from the first, in the fourth volume of Cato's Letters, which he concludes with the following words:

“ I SHALL sometime hereafter, says he,
 “ consider that kingdom [Ireland] in relation to the interest of Great Britain; and
 “ shall only say, at present, that it is too
 “ powerful to be treated only as a colony;
 “ and

“ and that if we design to continue them
 “ friends, the best way to do it, is, to
 “ imitate the example of merchants and
 “ shop-keepers ; that is, when their appren-
 “ tices are acquainted with their trade and
 “ their customers, and are out of their time,
 “ to take them into partnership, rather than
 “ let them set up for themselves in their
 “ neighbourhood.”

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DISSERTATION XV.

Of the union of the Isle of Man with England, from some anecdotes relating thereto, which may be depended on.

THE strength, the vigor, and the prosperity of his Majesty's kingdoms depending on the proper union of all their parts, I think the case of the Isle of Man should by no means be forgot. For it is too notorious to be doubted, that this Isle has many years been, and still continues to be a common storehouse for all manner of foreign goods and merchandises that pay high duties in Great Britain or Ireland, or are prohibited to be imported into these kingdoms.

THE merchants in that island have constant supplies of large quantities of tobacco, both in leaf and roll, tea in chests, with all sorts of East India and Dutch goods from Holland; one cargo landed there from Rotterdam, though contrary to law, consisted of 345 chests of tea; they are likewise supplied with tobacco, and other things from Dunkirk, Ostend, Norway, and even from

some parts of Great Britain ; with tea and india goods of all sorts from Gottenburgh and Denmark, with vast quantities of brandy and wines from France, and with rum from America; the Scotch and others sending vessels to our plantations on purpose for that commodity and landing it there, contrary, as is supposed, to the act of navigation.

THESE goods are all warehoused in that island, and afterwards put into packages of lesser quantities and weights ; such as may be most handy and convenient for smuggling into Great Britain and Ireland.

THERE have been nine or ten large wherries, and above twenty boats in the island, constantly employed in the smuggling trade, and go weekly from thence, if the weather permits, laden with high duty or prohibited goods ; the wherries and boats from Piel-town supply the east and north parts of Ireland, the Highlands and West of Scotland ; those from Douglas and Derby-haven, Wales, Cheshire, and Lancashire ; and those from Ramsey, Cumberland, and all the country on each side of Salway Firth ; but their chief trade is up the river at Boulness, into the Scotch borders near Annan.

TEN or twelve of these boats are almost every week seen in a fleet passing by Whitehaven all laden, steering for the said river, where they land their cargoes at noon-day, the country being all ready to assist and protect

test them, in such numbers as no officer dare offer to molest them.

THESE cargoes, which generally consist of brandy, rum, tea, and silks, are afterwards brought out of the Scotch border on horseback in the night, under an armed force of fifteen or twenty men into England, and guarded by them up into the country, till they have passed all the preventive officers on the English border.

THUS all the northern counties on this side Trent, and further, are supplied from that island with these commodities at a cheap rate, for the smuggler generally buys his brandy and rum there at two shillings the gallon, or under, and other goods in proportion; and by paying no duties is enabled to undersell the fair trader.

IT was several years ago made appear, that the clandestine trade carried on from this island, was then above 100,000*l.* yearly loss to the revenue of Great Britain and Ireland; and it is computed now to be twice as much, not to mention it's carrying away the coin, the detriment to the honest merchant, the landholder, and even ruin to the labouring people; for being constantly supplied with brandy, rum, and Dutch geneva at so cheap a price, induces them to drink so much as not only weakens their constitution, and quite debilitates their whole offspring, but so intolerably vitiates their morals as to render them objects unfit for a civilized community.

THERE does not seem, it is to be feared, any other method that can be thought on to put a stop to this great evil (all the laws hitherto having proved ineffectual) but either by lowering the duties, or the nation purchasing the island of the present proprietor.

FROM July 16, 1753, to July 11, 1754, a manufacturer of tobacco with eight workmen, manufactured and shipped off to Ireland 166 hogsheads, containing 8797 rolls, and 175,358 pounds of neat tobacco. There is now in the isle of Man several workhouses, in which are employed 50 men, and upwards, all workers of Irish roll tobacco,—Say but 48 men, that in the same proportion with the manufactory in England, will be 996 hogsheads, containing 50,382 rolls, 1,052,148 pounds of neat tobacco, which must all be run into Great Britain or Ireland, but chiefly to Ireland.

IRISH duties on 1,052,148 lb. of tobacco,
is - - - £. 24,001 16 s. 7½ d.

LOSs per Annum will

be English £. 22,155 10 s. 9 d.

N. B. The supply for tobacco to the island is chiefly from Dunkirk.

TOBACCO imported into the isle of Man, makes a considerable article of the lord proprietor's revenue—Who receives half a pound duty on the same, which is allowed on all hands, to bring him in about 1500 l. per Annum.

ONE factor only, named W. T. for the merchants and dealers in tobacco in Dublin and other parts of Ireland, actually paid near 1000 l. to the proprietor's collector for tobacco only in the year 1753. And there are three or four factors in that island for tobacco-dealers, who pay less sums annually.

These tobaccos are mostly manufactured in the island into fine pig-tail and coarse roll, and run into Great Britain and Ireland. The working manufacturers were first procured from Dublin and Glasgow ; there are not less now than fifty of those hands, and a number of boys employed in several workhouses in the island.

THE lords of the treasury, considering the intolerable growing evils arising from smuggling, gave instructions about two years and a half ago, to the commissioners of the customs to order the several collectors of his Majesty's revenue in Great Britain, to transmit to them the most accurate estimates possible of the nature and quantity of the clandestine trade carried on in their respective districts, with their own observations thereon, and their opinions of the most feasible methods of suppressing the same, and whatever else might tend to the improvement and better establishment of his Majesty's revenue in the customs and the excise, that the same might be considered by their lordships, and laid before the parliament, &c.

ONE of these orders addressed to the collector of the port of—by the secretary of the customs, I saw. The said collector, who is an able and intelligent officer, and with whom I have often conferred on these matters, says my correspondent, did accordingly acquit himself to his principals with credit. He also informed me, that the like orders had issued from the commissioners of the customs in Ireland to the respective collectors in that kingdom, with some of whom, the most notable, he had kept a close correspondence on this head, as well as with several in the ports of Great Britain.—That upon the whole of their informations and estimates he found, that the smuggling trade from the isle of Man alone to Ireland, could not amount to less than a loss of 200,000*l.* per Annum to his Majesty's revenue in that kingdom.—And from the said island to England, Wales, and Scotland, at least 300,000*l.* per Annum.—And to the east india company, and the fair trader 200,000 per Annum more ; in the whole 700,000*l.* per Annum, exclusive of the horrid consequences attending the said clandestine trade from that island ; the chief of which are, the destruction of the health, the breed, and the morals of the British subjects stretching round the said island—The universal decay and death of their industrious arts of agriculture and manufacture—The ruin of the fair trader, and the temptation, and necessity numbers are brought under, of countenancing

cing and connecting themselves with infamous smugglers, in order to keep out of a goal themselves—The inevitable forerunner of the decay and destruction of the revenue, if suffered to continue—Add to these only one consideration more; the nourishing and strengthening the trade and commerce of foreign powers, particularly one, our most dangerous neighbour and enemy, by destroying our own, and draining us constantly of our cash, &c.

So greatly has this most pernicious trade spread itself, that scarce any duty was paid in the whole county of Cumberland, for seven years together, for French brandy, the county being glutted with the same by the smuggling boats and night-carriers from the isle of Man. They have, besides, large quantities of coarse Spanish brandy from Cete and Barcelona, which they purchase there at about 10 d. English per gallon, and sell it out again to the smuggling-boats in the isle of Man at 18 d. per gallon, the duty on importation of the same in the island being but 1 d. per gallon to the lord of the isle. This brandy may be bought afterwards on the South and West coasts of Scotland, for about 2 s. 2 d. per gallon in great quantities.

ABOVE 4000 gallons of this brandy were the year before last seized at different times, and put up to sale at the customhouse of Whitehaven, but it would not fetch even the

king's duty. Is not this a plain demonstration, that the country about was supplied with it by the smugglers at a much lower price? Yet by the seizures of brandy brought to that customhouse at this time, it is most certain, that not one smuggling-boat loaded from that island in an hundred, was taken by the cruizers, or coast-officers, or any other ways. Almost every soul along the coast of Cumberland, even the beggars and their brats, if they can steal any thing to purchase coarse sugar, drink tea once or twice a day, especially the damnified teas imported from Gottenburgh &c. into the isle of Man, much of which is sold by the smugglers from thence for 6 d. or 1 s. per pound; so that the excise on this article also is dwindled to nothing along the coast. By such deplorable means, punch, bumbo, rumbo, and dry drams, have universally prevailed amongst all degrees of people on the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, lying round the said island, to the inconceivable detriment of both the customs and the excise; which lessens also, in proportion, the consumption of malt liquor, and the necessary motives of brewing the same well.

To what a height this detestable trade has been carried, will more convincingly appear from the following memorial, which was presented on this occasion.

“ THE

“ THE memorial of the merchants and owner of ships in the port of Whitehaven, in the county of Cumberland—Humbly addressed to the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty’s treasury.

“ WE the merchants and proprietors of ships in the port of Whitehaven, in the county of Cumberland, beg leave to represent to your lordships the great damage which this nation in general (more especially the ports of this county) sustain, from the clandestine trade carried on from the isle of Man, to the several ports of Great Britain and Ireland, and humbly to submit to your lordships judgment the means, we apprehend, to be the most conducive to remove the same.

IT is well known that this island is the great storehouse wherein the FRENCH and other nations deposit prodigious quantities of WINES, BRANDY, COFFEE, TEA, SILKS, and other INDIA goods, which are there admitted upon very low duties, and afterwards smuggled upon the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, in small boats and wherries built for that purpose; besides the frauds committed in the article of TOBACCO, which being first entered in the several ports of Great Britain, for foreign ports, after receiving the drawback, are frequently landed on this island,

island, and afterwards run back again into this kingdom and Ireland.

FOR the carrying on of which clandestine trade, the situation of the isle of Man is extremely commodious, being within seven hours sail of the several coasts of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales.

THE loss, by this illicit trade, to his Majesty's revenues in the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, hath, by competent judges, been computed at no less than TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS annually, besides the damage done to the fair traders in general, and to the honourable East-India company in particular, which may reasonably be computed at no less than TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS MORE. And if the duties alone upon these foreign commodities, thus fraudulently imported, amounted to so excessive a sum, we may judge, in part, what an immense treasure in SPECIE is annually drained from these kingdoms, and principally from the circumjacent sea-coasts, for the purchase thereof; which, in the same proportion, tends to the impoverishing his Majesty's dominions, and the enriching a neighbouring state, the formidable rival of our power, as well as our commerce.

BUT the greatest loss which the public sustains by this detestable trade, proceeds from the alienation of such numbers of his Majesty's subjects from the honest arts of life,
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from agriculture, from manufactures, or from lawful commerce, to an employment which tends both to the destruction of their lives, and the debauching of their morals, by the excessive importation of spirituous liquors.

THESE evils, though extending in some degree to all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, are yet most sensibly felt by the port of Whitehaven, and other neighbouring ports of this county, by reason of their vicinity to the isle of Man.

WE beg leave, therefore, to represent to your lordships the peculiar hardships, which the trade of this port labours under, from the clandestine practices above-mentioned, which, of late, have been carried on to a most exorbitant height.

A CONSIDERABLE trade hath formerly been carried on from the port of Whitehaven, by the corporation of British manufacturers to Virginia and Maryland, and other of his majesty's plantations in America, and the importation of tobacco, and other products of those colonies, and also the exportation of coals to Dublin, and other parts of the kingdom of Ireland, by means whereof the commerce of these kingdoms hath been enlarged, his majesty's revenues encreased, and a great number of able-bodied seamen have been raised, ready, upon any emergency, to be applied to the defence of their king and country. Both these trades are, at present, in a very declining state, occasioned chiefly by

by the very exorbitant growth of the smuggling trade in the isle of Man: for whereas formerly a profitable branch of the trade of this port consisted in supplying the Irish markets with tobacco, this has been greatly diminished by the manufactures of this commodity, which have been set up, and greatly encreased of late in the said island, by means whereof those markets are chiefly supplied with manufactured tobacco, in a clandestine way, to the great prejudice of the trade of this place, and the fair trader in general.

WE beg leave likewise to represent to your lordships the difficulties which the coal trade labours under, as it is at present carried on from Whitehaven, and the neighbouring ports, to Dublin, and other ports of the kingdom of Ireland, arising from the same cause. And whereas, by an act made in the twelfth year of his late majesty George I. no goods or commodities whatsoever, other than such that are of the growth, product, or manufacture of the isle of Man, are allowed to be brought from the said island into the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, on any pretence whatsoever, under the penalty of the forfeiture of ship and goods; which makes it necessary that the owners of ships employed in the trade, for the safety of their property, should use the greatest caution and circumspection, in appointing the most faithful masters and
failors

sailors to navigate them that are to be met with; yet it frequently happens that small quantities of prohibited goods are taken on board, on the coast of the said island, where boats are continually plying to supply them, by reason whereof, ships of great value are forfeited and sold, to the great prejudice of their innocent proprietors, who are often without redress, inasmuch as the nature of the trade will allow only low wages to the masters of coal-vessels, that few persons who are possessed of any considerable property will accept of that office. By this means their once flourishing trade is now reduced to a very declining state, few people being willing to venture their substance upon so precarious a foundation.

FOR the removal of these obstacles to lawful commerce, by which the nation in general (and more especially the port of Whitehaven, and other neighbouring ports) are greatly affected, we humbly beg leave to mention to your lordships the expedient which, by the wisdom of the legislature, has been judged most conducive to this end, viz. by purchasing the sovereignty of the said island of the right honourable the proprietor, and annexing it to his majesty's government; for the carrying which design into execution, your lordships have been vested with a proper authority.

BUT if this cannot be effected, we humbly desire your lordships would vouchsafe to
take

take under your consideration the state of the smuggling trade of this island, and apply such further remedies as in your wisdom shall seem most expedient, since it is evident from experience, that the laws now in being are not sufficient to restrain the illicit practices complained of, which are grown to so exorbitant a pitch, that the smuggling boats go publicly in large fleets, and at a common risk : so that when any of his majesty's cruizers fall in with them, it is scarce possible to take more than one at a time, and then the law hath provided no other punishment but the loss of the boat and goods, which loss is abundantly made up by the success of their confederates. But this seldom happens ; for the cruizes employed in the channel are but slow sailers, and easily seen at a distance, and easily avoided ; so that scarce one in a hundred of the smuggling-boats, or wherries, ever fall into their hands.

It seems necessary, therefore, that a great number of small boats, well manned, should be employed in apprehending the smuggling-vessels, and that some further provision ought to be made by law, for the punishment of those who are employed in navigating them, either by transportation to the British colonies in America, or by sending them for a limited time on board his majesty's navy, or by some other way, which may be judged more expedient."

Signed by forty of the principal merchants and owners of ships.

THAT

THAT the intelligent reader, who shall be induced to make a right use of these materials for the public service, may have all the requisites before him whereon to make a right judgment of this point, it will be necessary to exhibit a state of the annual revenue of this island to the lord proprietor.

	l.	s.	d.
The lord's rents, certain and improp- riate tythes - - - -	1500	0	0
Fines certain, payable upon deaths of tenants, and alienations of estates, and fines levied on the people for breach of penal laws, <i>com. annis</i> - - - -	500	0	0
Duties and customs upon imports necessary for the home-con- sumption of the island, <i>com.</i> <i>annis</i> - - - -	500	0	0
Duties and customs of goods im- ported into the island, and afterwards smuggled into Great Britain and Ireland, <i>com. annis</i>	4000	0	0
<hr/>			
Revenue in gross - - -	6500	0	0
From which deducting his annual civil list - - - -	700	0	0
<hr/>			
Then his present income will be	5800	0	0

BUT

But were the smuggling trade	l.	s.	d.
suppressed, whereby the lord			
would annually lose the duties			
arising thereon, viz.	-	4000	0 0

Then the lord's annnal income,			
upon a fair trade, would			
amount only to	-	1800	0 0

N. B. Brandy, rum, &c. pay only one penny per gallon duty in the isle of Man.

TEAS, India goods, &c. pay *ad valorem* $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

By which it is evident how great the importation of clandestine goods into the island must be, to raise only 4000 l. upon such low duties.

BUT it is now believed, that these low duties amount annually to 6000 l.

THE tobacco alone imported into the island brings to the lord, at an half-penny per pound, 1500 l. per annum.

HAD we no other lights than what are here laid together, a reasonable judgment might be formed of the bulk of the clandestine trade carried on from thence to the British dominions round them, and the shocking loss it must prove to his majesty's customs, and excise in particular, exclusive of the fatal consequence to his subjects.

WHENCE it cannot but be admitted, that the government had better give the lord pro-

proprietor of that island, and his heirs for ever, a consideration from 5 to 10000 l. per annum, or more, for his sovereignty, than let it remain longer as it is, it being obvious, that the sum which the government would save thereby, in a year or two, would more than pay such consideration for ever, at 3 per cent. even exclusive of the annual fair revenue of that island.

THE purchasing and annexing this island to the crown would infallibly put an end to the smuggling from thence; because all such foreign goods as have been above-mentioned, must then be brought to the island in ships of burden, and landed in one of their four ports; and this could not be done without the knowledge of a king's governor, collector, and the proper officers, in the face of the day, the whole coast of the island being rocky and dangerous, except their four ports, and open boats cannot supply them with such goods from France, Holland, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden.

IF the lord proprietor should decline taking a reasonable consideration for his sovereignty in this island (which is hardly supposable) it may become an interesting national concern; whether it be not absolutely necessary to have an act of parliament for commissioners immediately to enquire into, and ascertain the value of the said island, and to oblige him to receive such valuable

consideration in lieu thereof, as in the case of the hereditary jurisdictions in North-Britain.

AND, indeed, the reasons for annexing this petty royalty to the crown hold stronger than in any of the other. For the detriment which the whole kingdom sustains by its alienation, is much greater than that which arose from all the royalties and jurisdictions in Scotland.

THE loss to the nation, and the gain to the French, are inexpressibly great. And, as all the sums drained from the kingdom are employed by them, in times of war, to hire troops, and fit out fleets to fight against us, it will be no exaggeration of the truth to say, that, since the peace of Utrecht, they have drawn more money from us by means of their trade with this small island, than was sufficient to maintain 30,000 men with a train of artillery during the last war in Flanders. Can we suppose that the French would have suffered a like sovereignty of Bellisle, formerly in possession of the family of the famous duke of that name? Their conduct plainly shews they would not.

IN short, this island may be looked upon as a fortress in the hands of our enemies, draining us of our specie (for all those goods are paid for with English coin) and also continually annoying us in the most sensible parts, our TRADE and COMMERCE. Wherefore, the question turns here ; whether we ought to

to dispossess them or not? A question that can admit of no dispute, if the public good and welfare of our country are to determine it!—Nor can there be any one good reason assigned, why this island should remain so long in a manner independent of Great Britain.

HAS not this been one cause of aggrandizing France at our own expence? Sure this is an instance of our political folly, no less glaring than that of our want of union with Ireland!

IF we look back, and consider how many millions of debts the honest part of these kingdoms is burdened with, by submitting for so many years to be plundered by such gangs of thieves as these smuggling rabble are, how can we, with any consistency, call ourselves a civilized people? Has not this island proved a nursery highly beneficial to the French trade, and enormously detrimental to our own? How could we expect other consequences from France than are now visible to the whole world? And have I not, for above these seven years past, pointed out all these evils that have happened to this nation at present, and shewed by what means they might have been happily prevented?

LET us, therefore, before it be too late, so wisely and happily unite every part of the dominions of the crown, that their

united commerce, and their united strength, both by sea and land, may, at length, prove the essential safeguard and preservation of the liberties of this independent nation; that we may be capable of protecting the liberties and independency of other oppressed Protestants, who are not able to protect themselves. This is the great aim of the endeavours of a private man: and, therefore, I shall continue to consider what farther kinds of union between other parts of his majesty's kingdoms may be necessary for the security, the prosperity, and the glory of the whole British empire.

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DISSERTATION XVI.

A succinct view of the constitution of the British plantations in America; and of the state and condition wherein they have many years been: wherein is pointed out the chief causes of their becoming the present seat of war; with considerations how they may recover their strength and stability, and become a match for our enemies.

MANY of the British colonies in America, are immediately under the government of the crown; namely, Nova Scotia, New Hampshire, the Jerseys, New York, Virginia, and the two Carolinas, Bermuda, and the Summer Islands, Bahama Islands, Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands.

OTHERS are vested in proprietors, as Pennsylvania, and Maryland, as was formerly the Bahamas and the two Carolinas.

THERE are likewise three charter-governments, the chief of which is the province of Massachusets-Bay, commonly called New

England ; the constitution whereof is of a mixt nature, the power being divided between the king and the people, in which the latter have much the greater share ; for here the people do not only chuse the assembly, as in other colonies, but the assembly chuse the council also : and the governor depends upon the assembly for his annual support, which has too frequently laid the governor of this province under temptations of giving up the prerogative of the crown, and the interest of Great Britain : *an effectual remedy to prevent which in future ought to be thought of by England, at the proper time, this having been productive of great evils.*

CONNECTICUT and Rhode island are the other charter-governments, or rather corporations ; where almost the whole power of the crown is delegated to the people, who make an annual election of their assembly, their council, and their governor likewise ; to the majority of which assemblies, councils, and governors respectively, being collective bodies, the power of making laws is granted ; and, as their charters are worded, they can, and do make laws, even without their governor's assent, and directly contrary to their opinion, no negative voice being reserved to them as governors, in the said charter. And, as the said governors are annually chosen, their office generally expires before his Majesty's approbation can be obtained, or any security can be taken for the due observance

vance of the laws of trade and navigation, and hold little, or no correspondence, with our lords commissioners for trade and plantations in England. It is not surprising that governors, constituted like these last mentioned, should be guilty of many irregularities in point of trade, as well as in other respects: *all which have given these colonies a kind of independency on the crown of England, and thereby gradually encouraged and encreased our evils in that part of the world; and these evils ought to be effectually remedied in future, at the proper time.*

ALL these colonies, however, by their several constitutions, have the power of making laws for their better government and support, provided they be not repugnant to the laws of Great Britain, nor detrimental to their mother country: and these laws, when they have regularly passed the council and the assembly of any province, and received the governor's assent, become valid in that province; but remain repealable nevertheless by his Majesty in council, upon just complaint, and do not acquire a perpetual force, unless they are confirmed by his Majesty in council—*of which too much care cannot be taken, as well in regard to the trade of Great Britain, as of every other important circumstance that may tend to cement the most interesting ties of union between those colonies and their mother-country, and between those colonies*

themselves ; that no sort of disunion amongst them, or any kind of ill treatment towards the Indian nations, may ever give a formidable united enemy the advantage over any distinct colonies ; and then it would not be in the power of France to have made head against them all as we now experience.

BUT there are some exceptions to this rule of subserviency to his Majesty's check and controul in council, in the proprietary and charter-governments ; for, in the province of Pensylvania, they are only obliged to deliver a transcript of their laws to the privy council, within five years after they are passed ; and, if his Majesty does not think fit to repeal them in six months from the time such transcript is so delivered, it is not in the power of the crown to repeal them afterwards--Do we not too well know what an unspeakable disadvantage it has lately proved to our affairs in America, by the contests and heart-burnings that have been between the governors and the assemblies of certain provinces ? For, has not the enemy taken every advantage over us on this occasion ? *Let Great Britain, therefore, take effectual measures to prevent these broils and contentions for the future, or we may lose every inch of property in America ! Let the preservation of the whole of our plantations be duly consulted by a British parliament, for the general good of all his Majesty's dominions, and then it must prove for the general*

neral good of all our plantations ! Let the constitution of our proprietary and charter-governments be changed, for the safety, the prosperity and honour of the whole nation ; and let due satisfaction and content be given that individuals may not be sufferers, by such a change !

IN the Massachusetts-Bay, also, if the laws are not repealed within three years after they have been presented to his Majesty for his approbation or disallowance, they are not repealable by the crown after that time. *Let a most vigilant eye be kept to these things, while the desirable change in the constitution shall take place.*

THE provinces of *Maryland, Connecticut, and Rhode Island*, not being under any obligation, by their respective constitutions, to return authentic copies of their laws to the crown, for approbation or disallowance, or to give any account of their proceedings, our board of trade in England are very little informed of what is done in any of these governments—*How then should the parliament and the nation be apprised in due time of the measures necessary to have been taken to guard against the calamities of our people in America ? Are not these things of the last consequence to the interest and honour of the king and his kingdoms ?*

THERE is also this singularity in the government of *Connecticut and Rhode Island*, that their laws are not repealable by the crown,

crown, but the validity of them depends upon their not being contrary, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England. — *But if they are not well watched, this has been too much disregarded, and always will.*

ALL the governors of colonies, however, who act under the king's appointment, ought to transmit home to England immediately after making, authentic copies of the several acts by them passed, that they may go through a proper examination: but even those governors have been too often negligent of their duty in this essential particular, and have likewise passed temporary laws of so short continuance, that they have had their full effect even before our board of trade, could obtain due notice of them. Some attempts have been made to prevent this pernicious practice; but, the annual support of government in the respective colonies making it necessary that laws for that purpose should pass from year to year, the assemblies have frequently endeavoured in those laws, as well as in others of longer duration, to enact certain propositions, repugnant to the laws and interests of Great Britain; of which our board of trade have not failed, to express their dislike to the crown, when such laws have fallen under their consideration, and many laws have, from the representations of that honourable board, been repealed on that account.

BUT

BUT as to such laws as do not directly fall within the above rule, against which no complaint is made, and where the board are doubtful of the effect they may have, it has always been usual to let them lie by as *probationary*, being still under the power of the crown to be repealed, in case any inconvenience should arise from them.

IT has also been usual, when a law has contained many just and necessary provisions for the benefit of the colony where it was passed, intermixed with some others liable to objection, to let it lie by, and give notice thereupon to the governor of the province, that it should be repealed, if he did not within a reasonable time, procure a new law, not liable to the same objections, to be substituted in the place thereof.

COLONIES become a strength to their mother country, while they are under good discipline, while they are strictly made to observe the fundamental laws of their original country, and while they are kept dependent on it; but that, otherwise, they are worse than members lopped from the body politic, being like offensive arms, wrested from a nation to be turned against it, as occasion shall serve.

THE history of our northern colonies furnishes us with but too many instances of the ruin of their advanced settlements, from their leaving so large a country as they have uncultivated and uninhabited, for fear of be-
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ing too near neighbours to the Spaniards or to the French, which has been the case of Georgia in particular.

THE steady alliance and friendship of the Indian nation is now found by experience to be a more important concern than some have thought it; and ought and must hereafter be made the constant object of parliamentary considerations, and never more left to the vague, inconsistent, capricious, and impositious conduct of the respective colonies; who only intoxicate these people, and deceive them in their traffic, which has quite alienated their regard and attachment; while our more politic enemy has steadily pursued measures quite the reverse; and which it is no wonder has had the contrary effect to what ours have; the French having wonderfully strengthened their interest and power in North America by means of these people, while we have shamefully weakened ourselves by our neglect and disregard of the proper measures requisite to have been taken for our security and preservation.

BEFORE things came to the extremities to which they now are, have we not long been apprized and alarmed from facts incontestable, of the views which the French have had to complete their chain of correspondence and contiguity between their colonies of Canada and Louisiana? Has not their long-continued series of overtacts, their bare-faced and notorious conduct long been sufficiently decla-

declarative of their formidable scheme of power? Had we timely cemented our friendship and our alliances with these savages, as we mistakenly dub them, these savages might and would have proved such a barrier to all our colonies on the continent, as to have saved this nation an immense profusion of blood and treasure: but, on the contrary, instead of engaging them in our cause by such interesting ties as is well known will influence these people, have we not suffered many of their tribes, who were in alliance with us, to be cut off by the French, to our eternal scandal? Has not this been the case of our allied Indians, the Nautches, and others, who inhabited near the French settlement on the Mississippi, on the back of Carolina and Georgia? Has not this shameful neglect of our Indian friends and allies given the other neighbouring Indians, the Upper and the Lower Creeks, so contemptible an opinion of our conduct and of our understanding, as to play ever since fast and loose with us? Could we ever expect to establish the colony of Georgia upon a good footing of security without securing the Indian allies for ever in our interest? Had these people been managed as common sense directs, according to their circumstances and situation, their peculiar customs and usages, and treated with humanity and integrity, and timely supported, whenever injured and insulted by our national enemies, it would never have been
in

in the power of France to have gained the ascendancy over them, which they apparently have : I mean their general ascendancy over those people, even from Georgia to Nova-Scotia.

THESE considerations are sufficient to entitle the Indian affairs, not only to the most serious consideration of every colony, but of the parliament of Great Britain itself, who ought to have the direction of a matter of such consequence. For nothing less will preserve these colonies from destruction but a formidable Indian barrier ; and this barrier must be supported and maintained by a constant and sufficient fund raised in the colonies for that purpose ; and wisely, inviolably, and religiously applied to the design for which the same shall be appropriated.

NOR are these the only means that we humbly apprehend to be indispensably necessary to be taken with those people. The wise men amongst them (and they have many such) have repeatedly declared their abhorrence and detestation of the practice of intoxicating their people with our spirituous liquors. Our enemies practise the reverse ; they cherish them in sobriety ; and represent the English to them as a designing wicked people, who can, by their mischievous and inebriating liquors, put them out of their senses when they please, in order to over-reach them, as well in their commerce

as

as their treaties ; and this has too often been the case, in regard to matters of trade ; and when the Indians have, in their sobriety, discovered the cheat upon individuals, the fraud has spread itself among the whole tribe ; this has made impressions upon them, so disadvantageous to our interests, that their wise men have rather chose to treat with France than with us, and to ally themselves with the fair and sober dealers, than with those who, they say, make them mad, in order to take advantage of them.—These are some of the practices, whereby we have lost the attachment of those people.

THESE Indian people bear the image of their creator no less than we Europeans ; and if we consider ourselves in the state of ancient Britons, Picts, and Scots, we shall find little difference. Traffic and science has civilized us, and those Indians have understandings capable of equalling us. For although they are bred, as we have heretofore been, under the darkest ignorance ; yet a bright and radiant genius displays itself through those opake clouds. None of the greatest Roman heroes have discovered a greater affection and attachment to the interest and glory of their respective countries, or a greater contempt of death, than those people, when liberty is in competition. Our Indians have even out-done the Romans in this particular ; some of the greatest of these we have known to murder themselves, to
avoid

avoid shame or torments; but these Indians have contemptuously refused to die meanly, when they thought their country's honour would be at stake by it: they have given their bodies willingly to the most cruel torments of their enemies, to shew, as they have declared, that the *Five Nations* consisted of men whose courage and resolution could not be shaken.

BUT it must be said, to our eternal shame and ignominy, that we Christians, we British Christians, have debauched and viciated the natural honest and sober morals of these Barbarians; we having not only defrauded them by dishonest weights and measures in our trafficable concerns with them, but we have too often neglected to protect them as friends and allies against our enemy. Is it to be admired, therefore, that they are so difficult to be retained in our interest? especially when the French treat them with the contrary conduct? While our enemies pique themselves on treating the Indians with the strictest regard to truth, integrity, and honour; while our enemies treat them with small wines, to preserve their sobriety, and make them the more sensible of their good treatment, and not with inebriating spirits, the better to deceive and over-reach them; while the French employ their religious emissaries to instil the principles of their religion into them, and their people to intermarry with them; while they represent the
English

English and their religion as heretical, dangerous, and even damnable; while our enemies are indefatigable in making every impression upon them, both moral and religious, to our disadvantage; and we take pains to make ourselves no less odious to them by our conduct, than our enemies represent us; how can we reasonably expect to attach these people to our cause, when it is set before them as the worst and most iniquitous; and we take no pains to convince them of the imposition? But,

If we continue so indolent, indifferent, and impolitic with relation to those Indian nations, and the French shall effectually gain them over to their interest, their religion, and their system of policy, it will not be in our power to secure our interest upon the continent of America, without being at the expence of a standing army from even Georgia to Nova Scotia; for, if the Indians are drawn off from our alliance, and their weight is thrown absolutely into the French scale; if the French besides have a well disciplined militia, and shall instruct those Indians in the art of war; will not those British colonies be ever in a precarious situation, and likely to fall into the hands of France? Nor are we at all acquainted with the strength of France to the most western parts. So that, if we do not attach the Indian states to our alliance and friendship upon ties far more interesting, engaging, and obligatory than those that arise

from mean temporary presents : and those such too that often influence those people to our disfavour, our settlements in this part of America will not be tenable ; our whole commerce and navigation to this spacious continent will be inevitably lost, and it's invaluable treasures thrown into the coffers of our antient enemy.

WE seem to forget also the contiguity of the Mexican Gulph to the Messasippi ; and appear unapprehensive of danger from that quarter : whereas, if the Spaniards join the French, in their Louisianian views from the Messasippi to Nova Scotia, and exert their united force there from the Havanna and St. Augustine on the one side, while the French attack our colonies on the other, in the north, great must prove our difficulties to defend ourselves, without the Indian aid and assistance : and, therefore, if we had another able general to head a sufficient body of troops on this side, to act in concert with lord Loudon, it might not be less necessary.

THE town of Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia has been always reckoned as a barrier to the colonies of New England, and is certainly of the last importance to prevent the French from joining, in time of war, with the eastern Indians, either by land, or by sea. In queen Anne's war, while this place was in the hands of the French, it actually proved, as the ingenious Mr. Dummer justly styles it, the Dunkirk of this part of the American world ;

world ; continually harbouring fleets of privateers and French cruizers, to the ruin of our fisheries, and the foreign trade of all the British northern colonies ; and which will inevitably be the case again, if France is ever suffered to obtain the whole, or any part of this important colony, more especially since they are possessed of Cape Breton. In 1744, after the French from Cape Breton had taken and burnt Canso, at the east end almost of Nova Scotia, their Indians alarmed Annapolis for a month together, by threatening a general assault, and providing scaling-ladders, but, the garrison happening opportunely to be re-inforced, they retired. Wherefore, the near neighbourhood of Cape Breton to our colony of Nova Scotia is of itself sufficient to alarm us, without suffering them to encroach an inch upon our Dunkirk of North America ; which would so add to the strength of the French, and weaken that of the English there, that we should be ever liable to insults, and our possessions in that part ever rendered precarious. And, therefore, should not every policy be exerted to engage the Indians in our interest ?

THERE have been many other causes that have contributed to the present state of our affairs on the continent of America. Those who have been entrusted with the chief power in our colonies have granted such large tracts of land, as well to themselves as to

others, that many planters have been, and are at present, prevented, from enlarging their plantations, whereby the encreased settlers have been obstructed, and people in general discouraged from going thither as formerly. It has long been matter of great complaint, that in most of our colonies there is no land, though in most of them there are such vast quantities uncultivated, left near any settlement, that is unpatenteed, or not granted to some particular person; which well merits the attention of the public wisdom; whether we consider the loss that has already ensued, and must ensue to this kingdom, by such large tracts of land remaining uncultivated; and which the proprietors either cannot or will not settle and plant, or sell, but on most exorbitant terms.

Is not this repugnant to the intention of the crown? Were not these grants of land given to be cultivated, not monopolized, in order to raise their value upon their industrious planter, whose lands are contiguous to them, and who would gladly cultivate them so as to render them beneficial to the nation as well as themselves? Have not the grants of such tracts of land been too often procured on very easy terms, and frequently upon wrong suggestions? Do not many hold thousands of acres a-piece, and those largely surveyed? Some patents are said to contain double the quantity of land mentioned, or intended

intended to be granted. Is not this the cause that so many thousand acres of land have been taken up, but not planted? Has not this drove away the inhabitants, and servants bred to planting? Have not these unwarrantable practices left our frontiers naked of people to defend them against the enemies, and our distance from the Indians the greater?

THE French suffer nothing of this kind in their plantations.— They oblige every ship bound to any of their colonies, to carry such a number of persons, in proportion to it's tonnage, passage free; not permitting any person to take up more land than he shall actually plant and manure, within a limited time; and furnishing persons, who will become settlers, with negroes, and all requisites for the making settlements, upon obliging them to repay only to the public out of the produce, one third of what is produced, till thereby the sum advanced shall be fully repaid.—Have not these, amongst other wise measures, occasioned the rapid progress that the French have made, in their American commerce, and the great force they have obtained there, to our present mortification?—Has not French policy absolutely settled a correspondence between Canada and Louisiana, which has established such a formidable degree of power, as will not easily be erased, or reduced, I am afraid, within such bounds as will render our colonies secure from their perpetual insults and invasions?

unless we take quite other measures than seem to be thought of.

ANOTHER cause of the present situation of our affairs in America seems to be the unskilful administration (not to call it worse) of those who have been too frequently appointed governors of many of our plantations. We will not say that all who go thither, like those in David's camp, have been in debt, or distress, and consequently, unfit to advance matters of public interest; but we may, perhaps, find some who can inform us, that in time of war, the Indians our enemies, have been supplied with powder and ball, the French with provisions, and the Spaniards with naval stores. Themistocles, we know, said, that he could not play on a fiddle, but understood how to make a little city a great one: but of our fiddling gentlemen, our colony-governors, by keeping up parties and factions, and oppressing people under colour of his Majesty's authority, have made flourishing colonies poor ones, and strong ones weak and impotent.—Nor have we scarce ever heard of any that have been acquainted with commerce, although they were to be the protectors of a commercial colony!

WE have another set of officers too, who are settled in every province, by commissions from England, but without any salaries annexed to the ample powers wherewith they are invested. These are judges, advocates, registers,

registers, and marshals of the admiralty, who having nothing to depend upon but the *fees of court*, and being altogether unqualified for such employments, by promoting litigious actions, and pronouncing unjust decrees, have brought our trade under a very sensible decay. Is it not to be greatly lamented that so useful a court, in these parts, should not have been better established? If our ministers of state considered how greatly the interest and honour of the nation depends upon the prosperity and security of our plantations, and, at the same time, what discouragements they lie under by the conduct of volunteer governors, judges, &c. many of whom have been known to use their commissions as some do letters of reprisals, they would take care to prevent such grievances.

NOR has a dependence upon the security and preservation of our continent colonies, without erecting a proper range of forts, proved the least of our mistakes.

CERTAIN it is, that the crown of England has not hitherto been sparing in expence to cherish those important plantations, in order to raise them to the height to which they have arrived; and therefore those plantations themselves should not have been lukewarm, when it has been in their power, in regard to their own safety and welfare. The people of England are already sufficiently incumbered with taxes. The colonies, therefore, themselves should have contributed

cheerfully towards the expence necessary for the regulation of their Indian trade, the attachment of those allies, and the security of their frontiers; for it was full time for them to have had a watchful eye over their own preservation, and not expect to hang for ever on the breast of their mother country.

IT has, therefore, several years since been recommended by those who have been well acquainted with the interest of those colonies, and to have had their security and prosperity at heart:

1. THAT the colonies themselves should have been obliged to have taken care in time to have had such a range of regular fortifications and block-houses as were absolutely necessary to have been erected on the frontiers for their security and preservation, and magazines of all kinds of warlike stores, both for the offensive and defensive, with snow-shoes, small hatchets, &c.

2. THAT this should have been timely done, in particular to have protected our more northern colonies, and to have facilitated a descent upon Canada, when occasion required.

3. THAT commissioners should have been appointed from all the colonies annually at NEW-YORK and ALBANY, in order to settle their respective quota's towards the general expence, for erecting all such forts and
block-

block-houses as were absolutely necessary in those parts.

4. THAT these forts should have contained a proper number of well-disciplined Highlanders, and the block-houses a due number of Indians; and that both should have contained a competent number of both in times of peace and war.

5. THAT all the lands from FORT NICHOLAS and FORT ANNE; that is, all the lands upon the CARRYING PLACE, and those adjacent, should have been set apart for the use of such regular troops as would have settled there, and should have been properly assisted in their settling for the first two or three years; each man and his wife having (we will suppose an hundred acres, and each single person fifty acres of land) without fee or reward.

6. THAT near this fort there should have been timely erected small BLOCK-HOUSES, sufficient to have contained a due number of our Indian allies from the six nations, who should have been relieved and regulated in such manner as the six nations themselves had thought most proper.

7. THAT those commissioners jointly had been impowered to have lain out lands (not already granted) most conveniently situated for a good frontier; and that these lands had been laid out in townships after the NEW-ENGLAND manner, for a competent number of families, to have been granted them
and

and their heirs, for ten years at least, clear of all taxes and quit-rents.

8. THAT in each of these townships should have been erected a strong church, with loop-holes, with a few field-pieces; which might have served for a retreat upon occasion.

9. THAT a string of BLOCK-HOUSES should have been erected, so as to have made the communication, or an alarm, from one garrison or block-house to another easy, by smoaks properly disposed in the day-time, or by throwing up a number of rockets, or firing great guns in the night-time *.

SUCH an expedient would be of great use in time of war, as the Indians never attack but by surprize, and would greatly discourage the parties of the Indian enemies, as it would keep our own garrisons upon the watch, and our out-scouts strictly to their duty.

* It does not appear impracticable to have conveyed thus an alarm from Albany to New-York in one night. Let us suppose, for example, a party of French and Indians abroad, which seldom happens without being discovered by some out-scout or other: upon discovery, if in the day-time, let there be one great smook, and one great gun fired: which, if taken up by the other garrisons, that party would hardly proceed. In order to discover what course the party might take, let there be three smoaks, two pretty near to one another, and the third at a proper distance, either to the eastward or the westward, &c. which might point out the course taken.----Something of this kind might have been improved.

10. THAT

10. THAT in each of the six nations of Indians there had been built a fort of some kind or other, where and in what manner that particular nation should best approve.

11. THAT in the ONONDAGO country, where their general councils are held, and the archives of the six nations are preserved, something more than common had been erected: this would have done honour to the British nation among those people, and greatly encouraged them, especially in time of war; and while their old men, women, and children are secure in a fort, with a party of Christians, their excursions would be more free and frequent: but this security ought to be left altogether to their own choice, whether by erecting one single fortification for the retreat of the whole, (the SENECA I should chuse, being a fine country, where great encouragement ought to be given to settlers, and where the Indians are less tainted with Christian vices) or, whether each nation should have their proper retreat and security.

WHAT has hitherto prevented our Indians in their excursions against the enemy is, in a great measure, owing to the apprehensions of having their castles cut off in their absence; with this they have, before the war, been often threatened, and had nothing to trust to but their heels; and nothing prevented the attempt but the resolutions of the CACHNA-
WAGES,

WAGES, their principal fighters (but deserters from our MOHAWKS) not to spill the blood of their relations and countrymen.

THE villainous treatment these people have met with at Albany from the handlers, as they are called, was the original cause of the desertion of those people; and, doubtless, for the same reasons, many more deserted.

WHENCE it is requisite to observe, that without a proper regulation of the trade between the Indians and the English, all other endeavours on the side of the latter to preserve the friendship of the former, will avail but little. We shall not, at present, enter into a detail of the great injuries done by the English to the Indians, in their intercourse of commerce: certain it is, that these poor people have for many years been under the direction of Albany, who have shamefully deceived and defrauded them, which is too notorious to be gainsaid: instances in abundance might be produced, but they are really too shocking to relate—These have been a great cause of the alienation of the Indian friendship, and now we experience calamities in our turn.—And I have, for several years past, loudly complained of these things, and forewarned us of the unhappy consequences hereof; all which have come to pass: this it is to disregard the sentiment of an impartial man, whose declarations, seven years ago, were treated by the short-sighted,
and

and the prejudiced, as visionary apprehensions ; and they may now be well ashamed of their political discernment, that a private by-stander should see more than some gamesters.

NOR is this our treacherous treatment of the Indian nations a new thing, as appears from the following preamble to an act of parliament of the 13th of queen Anne— But we have not heard of any act of the like kind since, though the mischief has been daily encreasing.

“ WHEREAS great endeavours, says the
 “ said act, have, from time to time, been
 “ used by her majesty’s governors and com-
 “ manders in chief of this colony, to settle
 “ a trade, and to have commerce with
 “ such Indian nations as lived beyond our
 “ five confederated nations ; which, in pro-
 “ cess of time, might not only be very ad-
 “ vantageous, but also of great security to
 “ the frontiers of this colony, at or near Al-
 “ bany, in time of war ; and several of the
 “ said Indians being lately come to the city
 “ of Albany, in order to trade with the in-
 “ habitants thereof ; but several private per-
 “ sons, not regarding the SAFETY OF THIS
 “ COLONY, but only designing their own
 “ private lucre, have and do daily use many
 “ indirect means to engross the trade into
 “ their hands, by their contrivances with
 “ those who are employed by the said In-
 “ dians to carry them in their waggons to
 “ Al-

“ Albany ; and, having once gotten the
 “ peltry, beavers, or other furs of the said
 “ Indians, in their possession, hinder them
 “ from making the best of their markets, to
 “ the ruin of the said trade, and the alienation
 “ of the affections of the said Indians from
 “ this colony ; and, instead of securing the
 “ friendship of the said Indians, will, if
 “ not prevented, cause them to be our ENE-
 “ MIES, &c.”

THE chief principles to be laid down in
 the management of our Indian affairs are,
 first, by all means to endeavour to under-
 sell the French ; and the next is, to do
 justice to the Indians in all our trafficable con-
 cerns with them.

FOR which reason, instead of this trade
 being wholly under the direction of the peo-
 ple of Albany, who are most of them traders
 or handlers, and whose interest it is to take
 all advantage of those poor people, and that
 with impunity, as they have nobody to com-
 plain to, the principal directors being all tra-
 ders themselves, and, of course, *socii cri-*
minis :

2. THAT the same in future be put under
 the direction of one single person of capacity
 and integrity, of his Majesty's appointment,
 during good behaviour, with an handsome
 allowance, and proper checks over him, for
 the Indians to make their complaints to, in
 case of need, with full power to do them
 summary justice on all occasions.

3. THAT

3. THAT the said superintendant be debarred trading directly, or indirectly, under the severest penalties.

4. THAT he take his instructions from the governor and council; and report to them, at fixed times, the true state of our Indian affairs, in order to be laid before His Majesty, or the board of trade.

5. THAT he be obliged to make a tour through the six nations, once a year at least, with a proper equipage, and some small presents for the chief men; when and where he may receive complaints and redress grievances.

6. IN order to save the crown the expence of such an officer, it may be adviseable, that, as there are two surveyors-general of the customs upon this continent, at an allowance of a guinea a day, and 60 l. sterling yearly, each of them for a clerk, upon the demise of either, that officer be set apart for this service: one surveyor-general being sufficient here for all the purposes of the customs, those officers being rather in the nature of preventive officers, their chief business being to prevent any European goods being imported from any part but from Great Britain and Ireland, and to prevent the exportation of the enumerated commodities to any parts but to Great Britain, &c.—These are not collected here by the officers, nor have they any accounts worth mentioning to controul: so that it seems, one of those

those at least, may be well spared for the above good purpose.

7. THAT there be an handsome allowance made for two interpreters at least; one, indeed, for each nation, might not be too much, and one of them always to attend the principal officer; for want of proper interpreters, I fear, we have often been misled and imposed upon; and, therefore, if some of the young Indians were bred to read and write English, and our people bred from their infancy amongst the Indians to the perfect understanding of their language amongst the wise men, the deceit might in future, be happily prevented, and be productive of well cemented friendships and alliances.

8. THAT every person employed by the public in this service, be prohibited trading, directly or indirectly, under severe penalties, and give security for the due execution of his duty; and be on oath obliged to represent faithfully, every grievance, which, he conceives, the Indians meet with from the traders. As monopolies in general are the bane of trade, this commerce should be open and free for all His Majesty's subjects; when it is, a number of bush-lopers, as the Dutch call them, and the French *coureurs de bois*, who are indefatigable to prevent these sort of people, are created: these are a set of men, who, from their acquaintance with the woods and the Indians, are importantly
useful

useful upon many occasions, especially in times of war.

9. That there be lodged in the hands of the proper agents for this purpose Indian goods to the value of £——— always by them, which they are to dispose of for the use of the public, according to invoices from New York, fixing the prices of the goods, as well as of the furs and skins, and by no means to exact further upon the Indians. This is the method, and indeed, perhaps, the only one, that we humbly conceive, can be taken, by which we can undersell the French in our Indian commerce: and something like this is the method taken in the government of New England; which is in the following manner, viz.

By an act of 12 of Geo. I. it is enacted,
 “ That provisions, cloathing, &c. suitable for
 “ carrying on trade with the Indians, not ex-
 “ ceeding the value of 4000l. be procured at
 “ the cost and charge of the province, and
 “ the produce applied for supplying the In-
 “ dians, by such persons as shall be an-
 “ nually chosen, &c. and likewise annually
 “ produce fair accounts of their proceedings;
 “ which supplies shall be lodged to the east-
 “ ward, &c.

“ THAT a suitable person be chosen an-
 “ nually at each of the places where any of
 “ the goods are lodged, which truck-masters
 “ shall be under oath, and give sufficient se-
 “ curity for the faithful discharge of that
 “ trust, and such instructions as they shall

“ receive from time to time ; and shall keep
 “ fair accounts of their trade and dealings
 “ with the Indians, and shall return the
 “ same, together with the produce, to the
 “ person, or persons, who shall be appointed
 “ to supply them with goods. And they
 “ shall not trade with the Indians, directly or
 “ indirectly. That the truck-masters sell
 “ to the Indians at the price set in the in-
 “ voices sent them, from time to time, with-
 “ out any advance thereon ; and shall allow
 “ the Indians for their furs, and other goods,
 “ as the markets shall be at Boston, accord-
 “ ing to the latest advices from the person or
 “ persons that shall supply them for the same
 “ commodities of equal goodness.

“ RUM to be given to the Indians in mo-
 “ derate quantities, by the truck-masters
 “ only.

“ No person whatsoever other than the
 “ truck-masters, and they only, as such,
 “ shall, or may presume by themselves, or
 “ any other for them, directly, or indirectly,
 “ to sell, truck, or exchange, with any In-
 “ dian, or Indians, any wares, merchandises,
 “ or provisions, within six miles of any
 “ truck-house, &c. on penalty of forfeiting
 “ 50 l. or six months imprisonment.”

HAD our Indian trade in general, been un-
 der such a regulation, and the law duly
 executed, we should not have alienated the
 regards of those people, whose friendship at
 this time is so importantly interesting : and
 it

it is to be hoped, that this will never hereafter be disregarded.

10. A GRAND commercial fair to be kept annually amongst the six nations, alternately, would prove extremely useful; to begin first in the *Onondago* country, and next year in the *Seneca* country, &c. of which all the nations far and near may have due notice; and where the superintendant, or inspector-general before humbly proposed, should always attend: and the prices of goods being fixed from the latest invoices from NEW-YORK, it would prove a great inducement to the distant Indian nations, as well as of our own, to resort thither, and purchase, and this would, at the same time, be a check upon the handlers at Oswego, and elsewhere.

ONE essential article in our trade with the Indians, and upon which, in a great measure, the whole depends, has been hitherto much neglected on our part; and that is, the Indians have from us the cheapest arms and ammunition for their hunting, which are the worst in the world: the French, on the contrary, take the utmost care to supply them with what is really good, and at a cheaper rate than we can afford the worst of ours: such is their policy, that they disregard a loss upon an occasion that so highly obliges the Indians, and attaches them so much to their interest. By these means it is no wonder they should undersell us in this es-

sential article, unless some effectual methods should be fallen upon to prevent it: for this purpose the French purchase the most engaging Indian commodities, both in Holland and England. The Indians must have good arms and ammunition, and where the best are, to them will they resort for the purchase; and this is another cause of their bias to the French, and their lukewarmness towards the English interest. Had we got the better of this article particularly, but a few years ago, we might have laid a sure foundation to have preserved their inviolable friendship: but this, like the enumerated other articles, have made impressions to our disadvantage, not easily to be eradicated.

As supplying the Indians as cheap with arms and ammunition as the French have done in times of peace, will be attended with a yearly expence, there should be a scheme prepared for each colony's paying their proportion towards the same. For most certain it is, that if ever NEW-YORK, ALBANY, and HUDSON'S river should get into French hands, the loss of our other colonies seems to be inevitable; and while those are well secured, all the more northern colonies will be so too. In answer to that trite objection, viz. that as these more northern colonies have all the commerce to this part [meaning *New York* and *Albany*] they ought to be at all the expence: we answer; let each contributing colony have its township

upon

upon the frontiers, with proper magazines, and one or more trading-houses, and a stock; and let them have their share in the trade, and then let them contribute their quota's to the needful expence: but if the preservation and security of all are at stake, with regard not only to the whole general trade, but to their very being and existence, as English colonies, why should they hesitate to bear their proportion of the expence? But when the government of these colonies, shall come under the care, controul, and protection of the parliament, they must, for the common safety, be obliged to acquiesce in all preservative measures; and if they had been so sooner, we should have avoided that expence of blood and treasure to which we shall be now put for their security.

IN justice to the people of *New-York* it should not be forgot, that they have been at an infinite expence, upon the whole, from the beginning, in fortifying, and in presents to the Indians, with very little assistance from their neighbouring colonies; a burden which that province alone has scarce been able to sustain; and is most unreasonable, as every other colony upon the continent is, in some degree, concerned in the preservation of the friendship of the Indians, and the security of our frontiers. But all that has been done, has been only palliating matters, and doing things by halves: but whenever these colonies shall be obliged to unite, for this and

other necessary purposes, according to the dictates of the parliament of England, our Indian affairs will wear quite another aspect. Such a confederacy would unspeakably encourage our Indians, strike a terror to the French hereafter, and prevent those insupportable insults and encroachments, which they will make again with impunity, in time of peace.

A LONG series of ill usage from the traders has given the Indians but a very indifferent opinion of our morals. They of themselves are naturally very honest and faithful; such at least who have not been debauched by the Christians. It will, therefore, want some address, as well as expence, to recover our character, and permanent interest with these people.

SOME measures, indeed, have been taken towards this salutary end; but they have all proved fruitless and inadequate to the good intent. His majesty sent the following instructions, upon this very occasion, to the late governor Montgomery in the year 1727:

INSTRUCTION 18. "Whereas it has been
 " thought requisite, that the general secu-
 " rity of our plantations upon the continent
 " of America be provided for by a contri-
 " bution, in proportion to the respective abi-
 " lities of each plantation: and whereas the
 " northern frontiers of the province of *New-*
 " *York*, being most exposed to an enemy,
 " do

“ do require an extraordinary charge for
 “ the erecting and maintaining of FORTS
 “ necessary for the defence thereof: and
 “ whereas orders were given by king Wil-
 “ liam III. for the advancing 500 l. sterling,
 “ towards a fort in the *Onondago* country,
 “ and of 2000 l. sterling, towards building
 “ the *forts* at *Albany* and *Schenectady*; and
 “ likewise by letters under his royal sign
 “ manual, directed to the governors of di-
 “ vers of the plantations, to recommend to
 “ the council and general assemblies of the
 “ said plantations, that they respectively
 “ furnish a proportionable sum towards the
 “ fortifications on the northern frontiers of
 “ our said province of New-York, viz.

			1.
“ RHODE-ISLAND and PROVIDENCE	}		
“ plantations	- - -		150
“ CONNECTICUT	- - -		450
“ PENNSYLVANIA	- - -		330
“ MARYLAND	- - -		650
“ VIRGINIA	- - -		900

“ Making together 2500

“ AND whereas we have thought fit to
 “ direct, that you also signify to our pro-
 “ vince of *Nova-Cæsarea*, or *New-Jersey*,
 “ that the sums which we have at present
 “ thought fit to be contributed by them, if
 “ not already done, in proportion to what
 “ has been directed to be supplied by our

“ other plantations as aforefaid are 250 l.
 “ fterling for the divifion of *East-New-*
 “ *Jersey*, and 250 l. fterling for the divi-
 “ fion of *West-New-Jersey*: You are, there-
 “ fore, to inform yourfelf what has been
 “ done therein, and what remains farther
 “ to be done, and to fend an account there-
 “ of to us, and to our commiffioners for
 “ trade and plantations, as aforefaid.

“ 84. AND you are alfo, in our name,
 “ instantly to recommend to our council,
 “ and the general affembly of our faid pro-
 “ vince of *New-York*, that they exert the
 “ utmoft of their power in providing, with-
 “ out delay, what farther fhall be requifite
 “ for preparing, erecting, and maintaining
 “ of fuch forts in all parts of that province
 “ as you and they fhall agree upon.

85. “ AND you are likewise to fignify to
 “ our faid council, and the faid general af-
 “ fembly, that for further encouragement, that
 “ befides the contributions to be made to-
 “ wards the raifing and maintaining of FORTS
 “ AND FORTIFICATIONS on that frontier,
 “ as above-mentioned, it is our will and
 “ pleafure, in cafe the faid frontier, be at
 “ any time invaded by an enemy, the
 “ neighbouring colonies and plantations upon
 “ the continent fhall make good in men,
 “ or money in lieu thereof, their quota of
 “ affiftance, according to the following re-
 “ partition, viz.

				Men.
" MASSACHUSETT'S BAY	-	-	-	350
" NEW-HAMPSHIRE	-	-	-	40
" Rhode-Island	-	-	-	48
" CONNECTICUTT	-	-	-	120
" NEW-YORK	-	-	-	200
" EAST-JERSEY	-	-	-	60
" WEST-NEW-JERSEY	-	-	-	60
" PENNSYLVANIA	-	-	-	80
" MARYLAND	-	-	-	160
" VIRGINIA	-	-	-	240
				<hr/>
" Making together				1350

" PURSUANT whereunto, you are, as
 " occasion requires, to call for the same;
 " and, in case of any invasion upon the
 " neighbouring plantations, you are, upon
 " application of the respective governors
 " thereof, to be aiding and assisting to them in
 " the best manner you can, and as the con-
 " dition of your government will permit."

FROM hence his majesty's care has been
 apparent; but why these instructions have
 not been duly observed, is, that the constitu-
 tions of these governments have not admitted
 of his majesty's orders being duly obeyed.--And
 whoever has attended to the conduct of the
 colony assemblies for these forty years past,
 cannot fail to observe what little regard has
 been paid to the royal instructions; for as
 it has been left altogether to them, the whole
 has ever ended only in words and altercations.

BUT

BUT the quota's proposed would of late years answer no great end in forwarding the views of security proposed; they ought at least to have been doubled, if not trebled; and so enforced by a British parliament, as not to be disregarded. We shall say no more, at present, with respect to the security of these parts of our North-American colonies; which we heartily desire may excite the due attention of a British parliament; and certainly the preservation of the southern parts of those continental colonies do not require less regard.

THE history of our northern colonies in general furnishes us with but too many instances of the ruin of their advanced settlements, from their leaving so large a country as this uncultivated and uninhabited, for fear of being too near neighbours to the Spaniards or the French. The importance, therefore of the settlement of Georgia must certainly appear, when it is considered that it may prove the most effectual expedient possible for securing the Indian nations in our interest, which inhabit the vast country to the west of Georgia; especially considering the views which the French have of the same kind; who thought in a little time to have completed that chain of correspondence and of contiguity between the colonies of Canada and Louisiana, on which their being formidable to us in North-America absolutely depends; since, if they had finished it, they would have surrounded all our colonies on the continent, from
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Nova-Scotia to Georgia: but, by the effectual support of this settlement on the one side, and Nova-Scotia on the other, we may effectually break the link of their intended chain, by engaging in our interest those very Indian nations that are the most capable of doing them service, and injuring ourselves; particularly the faithful and heroic nations of the Upper and the Lower Creeks.

NOR will the due support of this colony prove only a barrier against France, but against Spain also, and prevent any destructive union between the Spaniards and the French upon the Mississippi, and at Fort Augustine; and, therefore, this is matter of no less public attention than that of Nova-Scotia, New-York, and Albany. However much some have flattered themselves that the near neighbourhood of the French to the Spaniards on the Mississippi might give the latter umbrage, and make them more jealous of the consequence than we have been; yet, from the scene of trade that the French have been suffered, by the Spaniards, to carry on uninterruptedly, and the vigilant eye they have had on the trade of England for a little logwood only, does not indicate their dissatisfaction in regard to the powerful settlement of the French on the Mississippi: and, therefore ought we not to be as much on our guard in this part of America as any other? And especially so, if any attempts should
be

be made upon Jamaica from St. Domingo? Can our Indian affairs, therefore, in Georgia be taken too much care of? There are other measures too that might, and ought to have been taken during the last war, that would have proved an effectual barrier to our colonies; but they were mistakenly and unhappily overlooked, which, we hope, will not prove the case this war.

D I S-



DISSERTATION XVII.

Further considerations on the causes of the present state of our affairs in America.

THE reader will please to remark, that, from the connection we have endeavoured to preserve in this series of animadversion, our great aim tends towards such a union amongst all his Majesty's dominions, as will promote the mutual strength and vigor, as well as the mutual prosperity of them all ; for the happy general union that we would cement, is no less constitutional than commercial, and such also as may the least interfere with the particular interest of each other, but advance that of the whole.

IN relation to the constitution of our continent colonies in America, it is certain, that as things have been many years conducted, the proprietary and charter-governments, being different from the regal ones, have occasioned many disorders and abuses, that have proved no less detrimental to themselves than to the mother-state. That such abuses and disorders are the necessary and unavoidable consequences

quences of such their constitution ; I will not presume to say : I am rather inclined to believe, that these governments might as well have subsisted without these abuses, provided a due regard had been constantly paid to the royal command and instructions given, from time to time, to these colonies.

THE unwarrantable constructions which some of the colonies have put on the charters granted them by the crown, are altogether inconsistent with that dependence, as a very judicious gentleman * has observed, which they owe to their mother-country ; for although these charters entitle them to make bye-laws for the better ordering their own domestic affairs ; yet they do not, nor cannot entitle them to make laws which may obstruct either the trade of this kingdom, or lay restraints and difficulties on the neighbouring colonies : for, as the being and power of those colonies flow from the crown, under certain restrictions, particularly in not passing any laws inconsistent with the constitution and laws of this kingdom ; so the expediency of such laws are only to be judged of by His Majesty, or the legislature, as it is conceived these colonies cannot be proper judges in their own case.

YET to such excess have they proceeded in some of the charter-governments, namely, in Rhode Island and Connecticut, as to enact

* Miscellaneous essays, concerning the courses pursued by Great Britain in the affairs of her colonies. Printed 1755.

laws, that no law shall take effect in their colonies, unless it is first enacted into a law by them; and some of them have made themselves judges of the expediency of their own laws, by not transmitting them to their mother-country for examination and sanction. For it is the crown and the grand legislative power of Great Britain that must remain the eternal supreme judge of what laws are, or are not fit and expedient to be passed, in its dependent colonies. For the system of government in America must be regulated by the mother-government system; and the want of attending to this in the first American frame of government, has occasioned disputes in the colonies, unspeakably detrimental to the security of these colonies, as well as the rights and properties, and the regal prerogative.

It is neither for the interest of the crown, or the whole legislative power of England, to prejudice the colonies; the common interest of the nation dictates their right to all due encouragement: but it is to be considered, that there is a public benefit as well as a private one to be regarded; and that all advantages arising from the colonies to this kingdom consist in their mutual dependance, and that their separate interests would clash with each other, if they shall be permitted to exercise any power, which may be contrary to the true interest of the mother-state, or of his Majesty's other colonies dependent thereon.

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HIS Majesty's orders, and instructions, are intended as the sole guide and measure of the conduct of those governors of colonies that are more immediately dependant on the crown. But has not experience shewn, that where there are no penalties inflicted on disregard thereof, the end of government in distant colonies cannot be attained? If there be no certain regulation established, whereby the measures of the government, may be effectually executed, under colourable pretences, will not this open a door to detrimental encroachments upon the crown, and acts of oppression upon the subject?

IF the instructions of the crown be such, that the occasional circumstances of affairs in the colonies, put the governors under a necessity of deviating from such instructions, is not that a sufficient reason why governors should represent their difficulties properly to the crown, and propose remedies as emergencies may require? But can it be consistent with that interesting dependency that all colonies must have on their mother-state, to depart from the royal or the legislative order of the state? Since the evil consequent on a little temporary delay, cannot be put in competition with that train of evils, which must arise from the violating those salutary connective regulations made for the general good government of the colonies, and safety of the subject? Has not the winking at such violation been productive of general destruction

tion upon the whole, not less than violent rapine and oppression on individuals? Does not such deviation from the royal and legislative orders open a door for all fraud and encroachment, as well upon the subject as upon the crown?

ALTHOUGH there appears great wisdom in the framing the constitution of our colonies, especially, at the time when they were first settled; yet time and experience have shewn that there are still many things wanting to render the system complete: there seems a necessity, an indispensable necessity for the aid of the legislature in establishing the said constitutions by law, with penalties on such, who should presume to deviate therefrom. The best of laws are no more than a dead letter without they are duly executed. And what danger could arise from hence, either relative to the prerogative of the crown, or the safety of the subject?

THE strengthening the hands of the crown, so as to guard against encroachments, cannot impede the due course of public business; the governors of our colonies being obliged to have all public concerns of the colonies registered in the journals of council, cannot obstruct the business of the crown. Those being timely transmitted to our council of trade at home, will occasion all things necessary to be laid occasionally before the parliament; and what is requisite to be done, will be duly and timely enforced by the authority of law.

And will not this regular intercourse of business between the grand legislative power and the colonies give such strength and vigor to the latter, that they can never obtain without it? Has not a want of this proved one apparent, though gradual cause, of the present calamities under which our plantations labour?

THE actions of the wisest men are formed agreeable to their informations. What may appear extremely wise and prudent, and in all respects well calculated to guard the crown from surprise, and the subject from injury, may yet have a different tendency, as it relates to our distant settlements; for without unity of design; without mutual relation between the systems observed abroad, and at home, and a uniform and inviolable course of proceedings, between both, it will be impossible to prevent the affairs of America from running into confusion, or free the crown, and the parliament from surprise. Nor can this, we humbly apprehend, be ever effectually prevented in any other manner than by the aid of parliament, in establishing an invariable rule of constant and timely intercourse, in relation to the transactions of the colony-councils abroad, and our board of trade at home.—It is impossible for the sovereign, or for those employed in the administration, to protect his Majesty's subjects abroad, otherwise than inviolably maintaining this uniform correspondence, in order to inflict penalties on such as shall act contrary to their duty,

duty, and regulate all colony-laws according to the eternal standard of a reciprocal interest between them and those of their parent kingdom—Without such a steady method of proceeding, the crown cannot protect and extend our trade and commerce, or in other respects exercise it's prerogatives.

FOR want of this, it may be useful to hint some of the methods which have been taken by several of our governors in our plantations to evade His Majesty's instructions, and to conceal acts of oppression.—Such governors do many acts of government without the advice or privity of their council, and, therefore, no records in the journals of their council appear thereof—At other times, the acts of council, have, by a governor's influence, been imperfectly recorded, and in some cases wholly omitted—When this precaution has not been used, and petitions of complaint have been preferred to his Majesty against them, they have, under frivolous pretences, kept back the records, and not duly transmitted them to England.

SUCH governors also have too often formed party and factious connections in assemblies, and pass by-laws for the emission of paper-currency, and other laws, suited to their private interests, without suspending clauses to give the injured an opportunity to lay their grievances before the crown, previous to the carrying such detrimental laws into execu-

tion. Is it not notorious too, that such governors have dispossessed the crown-grantees of their lands, without legal trial or process? Have they not in more colonies than one issued blank patents or grants for lands, and afterwards affixed the seal of the colony thereto, and put them into private hands to be disposed of? Have not these detestable practises introduced the utmost confusion in some of the colonies? For when blank patents or grants are so issued, is it not in the power of such who hold them, by antedating the same, to claim the property of others? Will not this occasion such mixture of claims, and such confusion in property, as to put it out of the power of courts of law to determine the right of the subject? Must not these practices occasion every thing of this kind to be arbitrarily decided by acts of power and violence?

ACTS of violence exercised in His Majesty's colonies, can scarce gain credit from those who enjoy the blessing of a regular government at home. Let those who have the power to redress pry into the complaints repeatedly made against his majesty's governors, and other officers employed in our colonies, and the proof sent home to support them, and they will find evidence enough of what has been only hinted; and they will find also that these grievances have been occasioned by want of a well-regulated system for the conduct of public affairs between Britain and her American

rican colonies. Is it to be admired that these practises have sowed the seeds of confusion in our plantations, and given the enemies those advantages over us, which we at present experience? Have not these arbitrary and illegal proceedings been productive of these convulsions, which at different periods of time have happened in several of our colonies? Have not these things made the people uneasy in their situation, and caused them to think themselves unhappy under the best of governments and the best of kings? And have not such treatment often prompted them to act in opposition to His Majesty's measures, or to whatever else may have been wisely proposed for the benefit of the public?

ENGLAND hath many difficulties to encounter in relation to the government of it's colonies, particularly, as we have observed, it's charter-governments; yet these, we humbly conceive, might easily be redressed by the aid of parliament. For it seems to be full time, at present, for the wisdom of the nation to determine upon such a union in government and constitution of every part of it's dominions as may tend to strengthen the whole British empire; for although she has hitherto maintained her power, with variety of dominions annexed, that have acted independently of her, as it were, though supported by her; yet this policy does not seem capable of much longer upholding her, against enemies, who govern every part of their dominions by one and

the same steady principle of union ; by the same interesting laws, and regulations, the due execution of all which, is vigorously, and orderly enforced.

THE frontiers of our colonies in North-America are large, naked, and open, there being scarce any forts or garrisons to defend them for near two thousand miles. The dwellings of the inhabitants are scattering at a distance from one another ; and it is very difficult, if not almost impossible, for the number of our colonies independent on each other, by reason of their different sorts of governments, views, and interests, so to unite their military strength amongst themselves as to make head against the united military strength of the enemy. For, several of these governments pretending to, or enjoying some extraordinary privileges, which the favour of the crown formerly granted them, exclusive of others, if their assistance has been demanded or implored by any of their distressed neighbours and fellow subjects, when attacked by the enemy, in the very heart of their settlements ; have they not scandalously affected delays, insisted on ridiculous niceties and punctilios, started unreasonable objections, and made extravagant demands, or other frivolous pretences, purposely to elude their reasonable demands ? And have they not by an inactive stupidity or indolence, appeared insensible to their distressed situation, and regardless of the common danger, because they
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felt not the immediate effect of it? Has not their own security been precarious at the same time, since what happens to one colony to-day, may reach another adjacent one to-morrow? Will a wise man stand with his arms folded, when his neighbour's house is on fire? Yet has not this been the conduct of our North-American colonies towards each other, for want of their being under due regulations by our parliamentary laws to enforce obedience to the instructions and the commands of the crown?

THINGS being come to extremities, it becomes every true friend to his country now to speak out. Does not the experience of many years dictate and enforce the necessity of a substantial remedy to these absurdities and shameful injuries? Does it consist with the wisdom of this nation to permit these things longer to prevail without redress? Let every patriot suggest his remedy; and let the great representative make the best use of them all.

LET all the colonies appertaining to the crown of Great Britain on the continent of America be united under a legal, regular and firm establishment, settled and determined by the wisdom of a British legislature, aided by the best information that can be obtained: after which, why should not a lord lieutenant-general be constituted and appointed, by the crown of England as supreme governor over these colonies, to act in subordination to the

voice of a British parliament ? It may also be further humbly proposed, that two deputies shall be annually elected by the council and assembly of each province ; who might be in the nature of a great council, or general convention of the estates of the colonies ; and, who by the order, consent, and approbation, of the lord-lieutenant, or governor-general, shall meet together, consult and advise for the good of the whole, settle and appoint particular quotas, or proportions of money, men, provisions, &c. that each respective government shall be obliged to raise for the mutual defence and safety, or for the invasion of the enemy, when needful : and in all these cases the lord-lieutenant-general might have a negative voice, but not the power to enact any thing as a law with their concurrence, or that of the majority of them : all which shall be subject to the controul of the parent legislature.

THE quota, or proportion, that may be allotted, and charged on each colony, may nevertheless, be levied and raised by it's own assembly, in such a manner as they shall judge most easy and convenient, and as the circumstances of their affairs will, at certain junctures, admit.

OTHER jurisdictions, powers, and authorities, respecting the honour of His Majesty, the interest of the plantations, and the liberty and property of the proprietors, traders, planters,

ters, and inhabitants in them, may be invested in, and cognizable by, the above said lord-lieutenant-general, and grand convention of the estates, according to the laws of England. These suggestions being only general are humbly submitted for the more knowing to amend, digest, and perfect.

A COALITION, or union, something of this nature, tempered, with moderation and judgment, and a general encouragement given to the labour, industry, and good management of all sorts and conditions of persons inhabiting, or interested in the several colonies above-mentioned, will, in all probability, lay a lasting foundation for dominion, strength, and commerce, and revive the present sinking state of the British empire; and thereby, with other coadjutorial measures, render it once more, the envy and the admiration of it's neighbouring enemies.

LET us revive the consideration of our ancestors, and grow wise by their misfortunes. Had the ancient Britons been happily united amongst themselves, the Romans had never become their masters; while they fought in separate bodies, we well know, the whole island was subdued: so, if the English colonies in America were wisely consolidated into one body, and happily united in one common interest, according to the general principles we have adopted throughout this treatise; if their united forces were framed
to

to act in concert for the common safety, and their commercial councils regulated for their general prosperity; would not such political concord and harmony establish invincible strength and power, while the contrary must prove their absolute ruin and destruction?

THERE are not less at present than 500,000 British subjects in North-America, (which are, perhaps, three times more than the French have of natives both in their Canada and their united Louisiana put together) inhabiting the several colonies on the east-side of the continent of America, along the sea-shore, from the gulph of St. Laurence to that of Florida, all contiguous to each other; and these subjects of the crown of England have for a century past established a correspondence, contracted friendships, and carried on a flourishing trade with the several nations of the Indians lying on the back of their settlements; is it not an unparalleled indignity then offered to the crown of England, for France, causelessly, to attempt to encroach upon these settlements, and wrest them out of our hands?

AND what further views and designs they may entertain against the Spanish provinces in New-Mexico and New-Biscay, may be easily conjectured, since we cannot forget the project framed by Mons. de la Salle, to visit and seize on the rich mines of St. Barbe, &c. which if they thought no difficult task to accomplish with about 200 French,
and

and the assistance of the Indians adjoining to, and in actual war with the Spaniards at that time ; how much more easily will they become masters of them, when, with the united strength of Louisiana and Canada, both French and natives, they shall think fit to attack them? And after such an attack of the numerous mines of those provinces, with the immense riches thereof, what may not our colonies on the continent of America apprehend from them?

BESIDES, Jamaica lying as it were locked up between their settlements in the islands of Hispaniola, and those on the bay of Mexico, will soon be in danger of falling into their hands ; and whether the Havanna itself and the whole island of Cuba, with the key of Old Mexico, La Vera Cruz, will long remain in the possession of the Spaniards, is very much to be doubted, if the Spaniards should neglect their true interest, and not act in concert with Great Britain, to curb and restrain such unbounded ambition.—But we wish Spain may not, at present, be too much united with France in the cabinet against England, and those powers be determined to act in concert to wrest such possessions from us, as well in America as Europe, as will reduce us to the state at which they aim.

THE Spaniards, if they knew their own interest, could not be less jealous and uneasy than we, at the so near neighbourhood of the French on the Mississippi ; it being for
their

their security to dispossess them of their settlements there, and on the bay of Mexico, lest, in time, they render themselves sole masters of the navigation thereof; and, with the assistance of the Indians, make irruptions into the very hearts of their colonies, attack their towns, seize their mines, and fortify and maintain themselves therein.

IF this matter, perhaps, was properly, or rather had been timely represented to the court of Spain, by an able minister of weight and dignity, it is not improbable but they might be rather induced to divide this country with England, and surrender all their pretensions to whatsoever lies eastward to the Mississippi, except St. Augustine, on condition that the French are obliged to remove thence, and retire elsewhere.

AND, indeed, nothing seems more reasonable, from the true state of the case between England and Spain, in regard to their settlements here, than that this great river should be the settled and acknowledged boundary and partition between the territories of Spain and Great Britain, on the northern continent of America, nature seeming to have formed the same for some such purpose.—The Spaniards, at the same time, might be made sensible how the French have wormed themselves into a settlement between the English and the Spanish plantations, on pretence of a vacancy, and with an assurance scarce to be paralleled, have usurped

usurped an authority to set bounds to the dominions of both.—Whether some interesting use might not be made of these suggestions, at this critical conjuncture, at the court of Madrid, is humbly submitted; if France has not already obtained the ascendancy over Spain.

WHEN I have considered the colony of Georgia not only in the light of an important commercial one, but as a barrier against both France and Spain in this part of America, where our interests are so essentially concerned; I have frequently lamented that it has not been more zealously supported by parliament. For what has been done, has been only by piecemeal, and with great lukewarmness.

BEFORE this settlement was made, the country bore the name of Yammacrow, an Indian nation; whose chief was Tomochichi, that had been banished, with others, from his own country, and readily entered into a close friendship with England; which was the more agreeable to both parties, as there was no other Indian nation within fifty miles. At that time also the Lower Creek Indian nations, consisting of eight tribes, who are allied together, entered into an alliance with us. These Indians lay claim to all the land from the Savanna-river as far as St. Augustine, and up Flint-river, which falls into the bay of Mexico.—The year following, an alliance was also made with another Indian nation
in

in this country, called the Nautches, or Natchitoches, tending greatly to the security of this new colony. But we have been so wise as to suffer these our faithful allies to be almost absolutely cut off and destroyed by the French, from their settlements in the Mississippi. And may we not easily believe, that this disregard to our Indian ally has had no tendency to strengthen our weight, interest, and friendship with the other Indian nations? May we not reasonably believe that it has had a tendency rather to render the British name mean, if not odious to those people, who are capable of supporting our colonies in North-America, at a trifling expence, in comparison to what it is now likely to cost us? By these and such other means we have lost the strenuous attachment of those important allies, and hereby brought ourselves into our present situation in this part of the world.

BEFORE I leave this point, it will not be improper to observe, at this time of day, that as the colony of Georgia may and ought to be rendered a powerful barrier, against both the French and the Spaniards in Florida; does it not become the wisdom of the nation to support the settlement on this side, no less than Nova-Scotia and New-York on the other? Is it not an indignity to the nation that it has been so meanly upheld and supported? Lord Bacon says, *It is a most heinously wicked thing to forsake and abandon a*

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PLANTATION *once in forwardness: for besides the dishonour, it is mere treachery, and being guilty of the blood of many miserable men.* And, in the same noble author's letter to king James concerning the planting of Ireland, he says: *It seems God has reserved to your majesty's times two works, which, among the works of kings, have a supreme pre-eminence, viz. the uniting and planting of kingdoms.* For though it be a great fortune for a king to deliver his kingdom from long calamities; yet, in the judgment of those who have distinguished the degrees of sovereign honour, to be the founder of states excels all the rest. For, as in arts and sciences, to be the first inventor is more than to illustrate and amplify; as, in the works of nature, the birth and nativity is more than the continuance: so, in kingdoms, the first plantation, is of nobler dignity and merit than all that follows.

IF the French shall grow so powerful in America, as to be able to intercept, or engross the trade with the Indians, or subject or ruin our plantations, there is an end of our home-produce and manufactures in America, of all our shipping-trade thither, and the encrease of sailors, and of the benefit of all goods imported from thence, and re-exported, as likewise of raising our own naval stores, besides the loss of so large an extent of dominion, and 500,000 British subjects at the same time, who will become subjects to the French interest. Must we
not

not be likewise assured, that all our islands in the West-Indies will soon undergo the same fate, or be terribly distressed, for want of their usual supplies of fish, lumber, and other necessaries they constantly stand in need of, and receive from our plantations on the continent, with which neither Great Britain nor Ireland can assist them; and which they purchase with their sugar, rum, and melasses, the vent whereof will be in a great measure stopped on the loss of our northern colonies? And will they not hereby be mightily discouraged and impoverished, and become an easy prey to the invader?

THUS Great Britain being deprived of its subjects, dominions, and trade in and to America, our merchants will be ruined, our customs and public funds sink, our manufactures want a vent, our lands fall in value, and, instead of decreasing, our public debts will be encreasing, without the least prospect of payment.

D I S-



DISSERTATION XVIII.

The cause of the present state of our affairs in America farther considered.

THE produce of his majesty's colonies on the continent of America, and shipped to Europe, from South and North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, Connecticut, Massachusetts-Bay, New-Hampshire, and Newfoundland, chiefly consisting of corn, rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, skins, furs, tobacco, timber, masts and yards, fish, oil, ships for sale, &c. are computed yearly to amount to the value of 1,500,000 l. sterling, and upwards; and the freight hereof, many of them being bulky commodities, amounts to 350,000 l. sterling at least; whereby this trade does not employ less than 10,000 seamen.

THE products of our continent colonies in America exported to the English, the French, and the Dutch colonies, and to Africa, which consist of provisions of various sorts, tobacco, tar, lumber of divers kinds, iron-work, cabinet-wares, and spirits distilled in the nor-

thern colonies, &c. are computed yearly to amount to the value, at least, of 800,000 l. sterling; and the freight of several of these commodities, amounting to above one-third of the value, that may be computed at more than 200,000 l. and this trade is a very good nursery for some thousands of sailors.

THOUGH this commerce is so very considerable; yet the whole advantage thereof does not center in England. But if the commerce of these colonies was directed in the right channel, it might prove of far higher concernment to the nation than it has ever yet been; it would promote the consumption of much greater quantities of British and Irish manufactures, than our traffic to any other part of the world: and would not the landed interest be more advantaged by this than any other of our branches of trade, as there is a great distinction between a commerce carried on by a barter of foreign commodities, and that arising from the manufactures of this kingdom; the one employing the poor in general, and improving the landed interest, while the other may only enrich the merchant, and not much encrease the national stock. Is not this manifest from the state of Spain? Although the merchant and the public may be enriched by their trade in foreign merchandizes, yet the landed interest reaps little benefit by it. Is not the like apparent with relation to the united provinces of the Netherlands?

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WHATEVER practices amongst the British traders have any tendency to promote and advance the prosperity of our foreign American rivals in trade, ought to be put a stop to. The British northern colonies in America carrying on a commerce with the French and the Dutch islands there, have proved very detrimental to the kingdom.—This has been the charge of our West-India merchants against those of the northern colonies; and this charge may be supported with no little weight of reason and argument. For,

By the act of navigation, passed 12 Car. II. cap. 18. it is enacted, that no goods shall be imported into, or exported out of, any territories belonging to the king in Asia, Africa, or America, in other vessels than such only as belong to the people of England, Ireland, Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed; or are built in the British plantations, and owned by British subjects, and whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners are English, on pain of losing such goods and vessels; and commanders at sea having commissions from the king, are impowered and required to bring in, as prizes, vessels offending contrary to this act; and, in case of condemnation, one moiety shall be to the use of such commanders and their companies, the other moiety to the king. And by the same act it is further enacted,

THAT no goods of foreign growth or manufactures, brought into England, Ireland,

Wales, Guernsey Jersey, or Berwick, in English or other shipping belonging to some of the said places, and navigated as aforesaid, shall be brought from other places than those of the growth or manufacture, or from those parts where they can only, or have usually been shipped for transportation, on pain of forfeiting such goods and vessels.

THAT, by another act of parliament, passed 15 Car. II. it is enacted, That no commodity of the growth or manufacture of Europe shall be imported into the king's plantations in Asia, Africa, or America, but what shall have been shipped in England, Wales, or the town of Berwick, and in English-built shipping, navigated as aforesaid, and carried directly thence to the said plantations, upon pain of forfeiture of the goods or vessels.

IN the making of these laws (always looked upon as the bulwark of the English commerce) Great Britain had two essential objects in view; one, the encrease of the naval power (by making her own people the sole carriers of the whole British commerce); the other, the appropriating and securing to herself, and her own subjects, all the emoluments arising from the trade of her own colonies; well knowing the importance of these two great sources of her wealth and her power: and the nation has continued to enjoy the full fruits of these excellent laws down to the peace of Utrecht.

NOR

NOR has this been the policy of Great Britain only, but every other commercial nation sees the advantage thereof, and think they have a right of preserving the trade of their own colonies to themselves. France, in particular, has been so watchful in this respect, that they seize every foreign vessel (except those concerned in the timber trade) coming within two leagues of their own shore; and several British vessels have been confiscated at Martinico, for approaching within that distance, looking on that as proof enough of an intention to trade, unless they, on the other hand, shewed that they were forced in by stress of weather.

BUT, soon after the peace of Utrecht, a pernicious commerce began to shew itself, between the British northern colonies and the French sugar colonies, which began with bartering the lumber of the former for French sugar and melasses. The French, who before that time had no vent for their melasses, and could make no better use of it than to give it to their hogs and horses, soon found the way (after they became acquainted with our northern traders) of distilling it into rum, which their new correspondents were as ready to take off their hands, as they had been before to take their sugar and melasses; and from hence our enemies the French have derived a new *mine* of profit, unknown to them before, and transferred to themselves the benefit of a trade,

which it was the design of those laws to preserve to England.

THIS being made appear to our parliament, a further provision was made for putting a stop to this manifest subversion of the fundamental maxims of the British policy, for preserving her commercial interests, by an act in the sixth year of his present majesty's reign; entitled, An act for the better securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America, whereby such high duties were laid on all foreign sugars, rum, and melasses, to be imported into any of his majesty's colonies in America, as it was thought were equal to, and would answer all the ends of a prohibition.

BUT experience has shewn, that all these laws are too weak to answer the purposes for which they were designed, and that some more effectual remedies should be found to keep the British traders in North-America within bounds, if Great Britain resolves to preserve her right of controuling the trade of her own subjects in that part of the world, and turning the same into such channels only as her wisdom shall direct, and think most conducive to the interests of the whole community; for it has been made appear, beyond contradiction, notwithstanding these laws.

I. THAT a settled course of traffic has been carried on several years, by many of his majesty's

majesty's subjects in North-America to the ports of Marseilles and Toulon, in which the ships have gone directly thither, laden with pitch, tar, train-oil, timber-trees, and plank for building ships; spars, staves, logwood, beaver, martins, deer, and elk-skins, furs, and naval stores; and having returned back again, without ever touching in Great Britain, with goods of the growth and manufactures of France, and other foreign nations.

2. THAT they have carried on the like trade with Holland.

3. THAT notwithstanding the act made in the sixth year of his present majesty's reign, the British northern colonies serve themselves chiefly with foreign sugar, rum, and melasses, without paying the duties imposed by that act, and sometimes import them in vessels owned by foreigners; and to such an height has this commerce been carried on, that vessels have been purchased for and fixed in this trade only, and constantly and regularly employed in trading backwards and forwards between the foreign sugar colonies and the British colonies in North-America; and that, in order to facilitate it, they settled correspondents and factors in the French islands, and the French did the like in our colonies in North-America.

4. THAT this trade has been not only connived at, but cherished, by the foreigners, with whom it has been carried on, who well know how greatly it hath tended to

enrich and strengthen their own colonies, and impoverish ours.

THIS trade has very deeply affected the manufactures and products of Great Britain, and in a much greater degree than is apprehended, it having occasioned a great declension in the trade of the kingdom, and not only deprived the nation of a profit to which they have a natural right, but many persons employed in our manufactures have been reduced to beggary.

THE number of English shipping, and consequently of sailors, have decreased in proportion as this trade increased, which has tended to sap the very foundation of the naval power of the kingdom.

THE design of the act 15 Car. II. forbidding the importation of any commodities or manufactures of Europe into the king's plantations in America, was intended to make a double voyage necessary, where those colonies used any commodities of the growth and manufactures of Europe, but British; for if they could not be shipped but in Great Britain, they must first be brought thither from the places of their growth or manufacture, and Great Britain would consequently have the benefit not only of that freight, but of as many ships and sailors as must be employed in bringing them from thence: But if our northern colonies have been allowed to carry them directly from the place where they grew, or were transplanted, not only these

these benefits have been lost to the nation, but likewise the profits arising to the importers, the duties reclaimed by the crown, where the whole was not drawn back, the warehouse-rent, commissions, and many other incidental profits, easier conceived than represented.

THESE practices have too much contributed to lessen the dependency of our colonies upon their mother-country, and have produced such connections of interests between them and those of France, as have tended to alienate them from Great Britain, and to make it too indifferent to them whether they were under a French or a British government—Behold, reader, how many natural causes, that have been unnoticed by others, have conspired to the present state and condition of these kingdoms!

It may be taken for granted as an undoubted truth, that, as the enlarging the vent of any commodity is one of the best means that can be used to encourage it's growth, so the lessening of it is the certain way to discourage it; whence it necessarily follows, that, as we have many rivals in this commerce, nothing could be more detrimental to the British sugar colonies, than to suffer foreign sugars to be consumed in any of it's dominions; it being obvious, that this must check the growth of sugar in our own islands, and encrease it in those of France; and, therefore, has manifestly tended to strengthen
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the colonies of our ancient enemies, and to weaken our own.

THIS trade, as it has been long carried on has raised the price of lumber to the British planters; and, as the northern traders often refuse to take any thing from them but ready money, this has drained so much of their gold and silver, that they have been often in distress for want of specie.

A GREAT part of the money, which our northern colony traders have received from our British planters, has been carried to the foreign sugar-colonies, and there laid out either in the purchase of foreign sugars, rum, and melasses, or of foreign European and East-India commodities; which are carried to the British northern colonies, and there have supplied the place of British manufactures, and British sugars, rum, and melasses; and consequently have robbed this nation, not only of the consumption of so much of it's own commodities, but of so much gold and silver too: whereas, if the foreign colonies (who cannot be supplied with lumber but from the English) had been constrained to have purchased the same with ready money only, and had never been allowed to give their sugars, rum, and melasses, in exchange for it, this would have turned the tables upon them, and have made the balance of the lumber-trade as much in our favour as it has been many years against us.

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It is well known to all concerned in the sugar trade, that the profits of the planter depend upon the vent which he finds for his rum and melasses ; for, if sugar only, and no rum and melasses, could be produced from the sugar cane, it would not pay the expence of culture, and making ; consequently, in proportion as the vent of rum and melasses is prevented or encreased, the sugar-colonies (whether English or foreign) must respectively thrive, or decline. And, as rum is not allowed to be imported into Old France, or any of it's colonies (because it interferes with brandy, which is the product of the mother-country) this evidently shews how much it has been in the power of Great Britain to have checked the progress of the French sugar-islands, and advanced that of her own : for, if the bringing French rum and melasses into any of the British dominions had been effectually hindered, all the profits made by rum and melasses, in the French sugar colonies, would have been lost to them, and they would have found no vent for them in any other part of the world. This point, therefore, had it been strictly attended, and invariably adhered to, would have inevitably damped the prosperity of the French sugar-colonies, and encreased that of our own ; and might, very probably, have long before now, proved the means of enabling the English to have beat the French out of all the foreign markets in Europe for sugar, and have confined

fined them solely to their own consumption. But, have we not, to our eternal ignominy, acted a contrary part? Have we not studied to enrich the French in America, and strengthen their power at the expence of our own, and do we not now experience the fatal effects of such a system of policy?

CERTAIN it is that Great Britain has of late years been more concerned than at any time heretofore, to have given due attention to the commerce of her sugar-colonies; because the other trading nations in Europe have been more intent than ever upon wresting this trade out of her hands, and grasping it themselves. Of these,

THE first is, that the Danes have lately settled a sugar-colony at Santa Cruz, an island in the neighbourhood of the British leeward islands, and to which several of the British subjects in the leeward islands have lately gone to settle, upon the invitation and the encouragements offered them by the Danes. As the growth of sugar will be considerably increased by this new settlement, the demand for a consumption of British sugars abroad will, in consequence thereof, be lessened; and has there not been, therefore, the greater necessity for obliging all British subjects in North America to consume no sugars, rum, or melasses, but what are of British production, lest our own sugar colonies should not find a sufficient vent for what they grow?
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for, if that should ever be the case, would they not dwindle to nothing?

THE second is, That all other nations, possessed of sugar colonies, seem to be sensible of the advantages arising from the sugar trade, that they are more intent than ever upon extending the same, and use their utmost industry to introduce their own sugars into Great Britain: and has it not been too notorious, that they have been so successful as to find the way of corrupting the traders in our own sugar colonies, and making them the destructive instruments of introducing foreign sugars, under the denomination and disguise of British; and this into Great Britain itself? Whence, has it not been apparent, that a great part of the wealth, which Britain might and ought to have reserved to herself, from the trade of her own colonies, has been thus ravished from her by the intrigues of foreigners and the treachery of her own subjects?

NOR has this sort of commerce been only carried on by our northern colonies to the French sugar islands, but by our own sugar islands to those of France; for great quantities of French sugars have been cleared out from the English islands as British manufactures—Of these nefarious and detestable practices our northern colony people have roundly charged our West-India traders; and thus between both, the national enemy has been enriched and aggrandised, and by these and such other means, have been enabled now to attempt

tempt to wrest all our colonies out of our hands.

IF our northern colonies could not trade with our own sugar islands to so good advantage as they have done with the French, why has not proper laws been enacted to break up more land in our island colonies, that sugars, rum, and melasses might be rendered, full as cheap as those in the French colonies? For this we have proved to be the sovereign specific for most of our commercial maladies as well in America as Europe. Certain it is that the French, in the West-Indies, have sold their sugars from 30 to 40 per cent. cheaper than the English have done; but as we have been capable of raising as large quantities of sugar as France has been, why have we not taken the natural and effectual measures to sell them as cheap; that every colourable pretence for any detrimental intercourse of trade between any of our colonies, and those of our rivals might have been obstructed? for, however, lucrative these communications may be to our private traders, yet they have been no less detrimental to the whole kingdom, and beneficial to our great enemies; and, therefore, we cannot be too vigilant to obstruct all intercourse of this kind, by the more natural and effectual measures, we having experienced that the most rigorous laws and severest penalties will not avail. How, and by what means the French have gained the ascendant in the American trade, will more mani-

manifestly appear in the sequel, when I come to compare by way of contrast, the French policy with that of the British upon this occasion. In the interim we shall only observe.

THAT such is the state and condition to which the French sugar colonies are arrived, that most certain it is, they have drawn both our northern colonies, as well as our West-India traders to carry on a very large commerce with them; and this has been acknowledged by those our traders themselves, who have publicly accused each other of practices highly detrimental to the mother-kingdom: and, therefore, all intercourse of commerce whatever between His Majesty's American subjects, and those of France, ought long since to have been stopped effectually; for, if such commerce was not very lucrative to the French they would by no means admit thereof, as will manifestly appear hereafter, when I come to give a representation of the French American system of policy.

WHETHER our northern colonies, or our West-India traders, have been the most to blame with relation to what we have been speaking of, I shall not here enquire. That they have both been highly culpable is not to be doubted.

EXPERIENCE has shewn, that it is extremely difficult to enforce the execution of any law made contrary to the general bent
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and disposition of the people; and must it not be much more so to enforce a law made here, and to be executed in America; and that not only contrary to the general disposition of the people, but contrary to the very genius and constitution of some of their governments? In passing of laws of this nature, it should be considered, whether it may not better answer the end proposed, so to form the law, that the people should not have too great a temptation to evade it. With relation to the point we have been speaking to, it should, however, be considered, whether a total prohibition of the said commerce might not, by lessening the number of our sailors, affect our navigation; and whether such demand for rum, as such prohibition might occasion, would not considerably advance the price of sugar, till we so increased in the quantity produced as to prevent it?

ON the other hand, there is much to be urged in favour of our sugar-planters, as they have most of their supplies from Great Britain, and many of them spend their estates amongst us; so that their interest must not be disregarded any more than that of our northern colony brethren. To determine this matter as equitable as may be, it has been submitted; whether all ships trading from the northern colonies to the French and Dutch islands, ought to do it *by licence, to be obtained from proper officers appointed for that purpose*; and that, on obtaining such licences,

licences, the owners of the ships in that trade gave proper security for the payment of the duties on the rum, melasses, &c. brought in return for the lumber shipped by them; which bonds or securities may be discharged by proper certificates of the duties having been paid?

IN order to remove all temptation to fraud, it may be proper, perhaps, to lower the duty a penny or three halfpence per gallon; and, as a great part of the melasses imported from the Dutch and French islands into Rhode-Island, Massachuset's-Bay, &c. are distilled into rum, and afterwards shipped to Virginia, Carolina, &c. and also to Newfoundland, and to the coast of Guinea, that the said duty be laid upon all rums so shipped from Rhode-Island, Massachuset's-Bay, &c. to any other part whatsoever; and in case the same is carried coast-ways to any of the other colonies, without proper vouchers of such duties having been paid, the said rum to be liable to seizure in any of the colonies into which the same shall be imported; or if shipped to the coast of Newfoundland or Guinea, without proper certificates of the duties being paid, in both such cases, the said rum to be also liable to seizure, with such farther penalties on the master of the ship as may be needful.

IT is probable that a law of this nature might have the due effect; for, by lowering the duties, it would not be the interest of

the people of Rhode-Island, &c. either to import melasses, or ship rum, distilled by them, without first paying the duty, as it would thereby be in great danger of being seized.—It is further conceived, that if the said scheme be carried into execution, a considerable sum of money might be raised for the advantage and security of our North-American colonies, and would the better enable them to erect forts and make presents to the Indians.—Measures of this kind might lay a good foundation for such future American funds as to prevent these colonies from being longer burdensome to their mother-country for their security.

THE constituting of a certain fund applicable to the future safety and prosperity of these colonies would enable us to preserve the Indian nations steddily in our interest; which might have been done, a few years ago, at a very small expence, in comparison to what may be requisite at present; for the Americans having a fund of their own, applicable to their own uses, their preservation will be in their own hands on all emergencies; which cannot be the case as their affairs are at present circumstanced; for if the application to the treasury in England is attended with great difficulties and delays before the money wanted is obtained; and if they are to apply to parliament, the opportunity may be lost; and, in many cases, proper supplies may not be granted till our affairs in America are brought
into

into such a situation, as to put us to infinite expence to regain what we have lost by such delays. These things taken into consideration, together with divers other particulars which we have delineated, should seem to indicate the indispensable necessity of making various alterations in the state and constitution of our North-American colonies.

THAT now is the time to take these important objects into consideration, every friend to his country must readily allow. For if we do not put the affairs of these colonies into a defensible state and condition, and build forts sufficient for their future security and preservation of our frontier settlements, and as places of retreat for our Indian allies; it is too much to be feared, that all the blood and treasure we may employ to this end will not have the desired effect, but only prove the means of drawing on a train of evil consequences, which may, in the end, prove destructive to this kingdom. For,

ANOTHER object that France has in view is, to give us full employment upon the continent of America, that she may be the more at liberty to attack our Islands in the West-Indies; which they certainly intend: and if they have taken, as is reported and credited, not only our settlement of James-Fort, on the river Gambia, on the coast of Africa, but all our other forts, shall we not be unspeakably distressed for negroes? In relation to our African commerce in general, as well as of

the due security of our forts and settlements on that coast, and the general advancement of our trade in Africa, we have committed the most egregious mistakes in our policy: but the consequences that must inevitably attend such conduct, I pointed out many years since, both privately and publicly, as well as many other things, that I will presume to say, would have effectually prevented many of those evils that have come to pass to this distressed nation. Nor will it be long before all these anecdotes shall make their public appearance, and then let the public judge how zealously I have endeavoured to serve this kingdom. But——

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DISSERTATION XIX.

A short review of the conduct of France, in relation to her North American colonies; with a comparison between her management of her American affairs and that of Great Britain.

HOW far the limits of the country the French intended to possess in North-America, before the war, might extend, was not known; and to what degree they design to carry their conquests, if they are able, no one will doubt.

THAT part of Louisiana that was granted to Mons. Crozat, is bounded by New Mexico, and the lands of the English of Carolina, west and east; and by the river Illinois, and the gulph of Mexico, north and south; wherein, if it be meant, as no doubt the French do, that all the tracts of land not actually possessed by the Spaniards of Mexico, and the English of Carolina, though claimed respectively by both, shall be comprehended, it will take in more than two thirds of the gulph; and reckoning from St. Fé, in New

Mexico to our most westerly settlements in Carolina, about 24 degrees of longitude, it will make 1440 miles, and, from the mouth of the Illinois to that of the Mississippi, 150 or 160 leagues in a straight line.

BUT this is only a part of Louisiana, which the king of France (by a reservation expressed in the patent) may enlarge, when he thinks fit, the whole extent of that immense country reaching to the south sea, Japan, and the frozen ocean.

FATHER Hennepin, in the account he dedicated to king William, of his travels through a great part of it, asserts, that Japan is contiguous to North-America (the great Grævius was also of the same opinion) and that an easy passage may be infallibly found out from Louisiana to the south sea, through rivers that run beyond the Mississippi, deep enough to carry ships of considerable burthen; and he offered to return back in his Majesty's service, to make the discovery. That great prince would, in all likelihood, have accepted the proposal, and improved it to the advantage, and the glory of England, had it not been for his alliance with Spain, which proved fatal to the settlements of the Scots at Darien.

IT is a melancholy consideration, that so noble an enterprize, founded on honourable motives, and carried on with invincible zeal and bravery, should have been discouraged, betrayed and ruined, and the French, at the
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same time, permitted to build forts and plant colonies, under the command of Mons. d'Iberville, in a country, to which both England and Spain had a much better title. It is true, that d'Iberville's commission empowered him only to establish the colonies, and maintain the garrisons, which had preserved the possession of the acquisitions of Mons. de Salle ; but one of the forts having been entirely rased by the Spaniards, and the garrison carried off, and the other abandoned some years before the date of this commission, the right insisted on, by virtue of that possession, was extinguished : besides, if the charters granted by the crown of England, to the lords proprietors of Carolina, be allowed validity, it may be justly doubted, whether a possession, of much longer continuance, could devolve any right on the French.

THE missionaries, who have had the best knowledge of Louisiana, give us so exalted ideas of it's uncommon beauties and productions, that one would take it for the Frenchman's paradise. Mr. Gage informs us, that the Spaniards were continually at war with the Indians, who inhabited the northern part of that province, on account of the silver mines in their territories, lest the English from Virginia (Carolina being not then planted) should be beforehand with them, in gaining these hidden treasures.

BUT the chief glory of Louisiana is the famous Mississippi, in many respects the finest

river in the world. Our American seamen affirm, that several of their rivers here are fit to receive ships of the largest burthen, and have many safe and commodious harbours. What renders the Mississippi the more considerable, is a great number of other large and navigable rivers, that run from the eastward and westward, and mix at last with its stream. Mons. de Salle affirms there are six or seven, 300 leagues each in length, that fall below the Illinois; and proposes it as a matter of the last importance, that the discovery of them should be carried on, to prevent the English of Carolina from interfering with the French in their commerce with the Indians, since some of these rivers take their rise from the Apalachian hills, not far from our settlements in that colony.

It was, therefore, natural for the English to discern, that the French would not so far neglect their interest, as not to continue their efforts to establish their commerce in this part of the world, and to become one day our rivals there in regard to our territories as well as our trade.

When the French had drawn a line along the borders of our settlements in every province from St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and built forts to secure the most convenient passes on the lakes and rivers that form the communication; how could we imagine that this was not done with an intent to cut off all intercourse of traffic between us and the

the Indians inhabiting the inland countries? How could we be so ridiculously weak as to think that this was not done with a barefaced intent to compel there our Indian neighbours and allies, by their absolute dependance on the French, to break off all friendship and commercial connections with us? Must we not be blind and stupid to our interest not long since to have guarded against such palpable evils, which every man of common sense saw through, except those whose duty it was to have guarded against them? Are not these crimes of neglect and omission such as are not to be forgotten or forgiven by this injured nation? How could we expect otherwise than to suffer continual incursions and depredations from the savages on our frontiers? By permitting things to go such lengths as we have done, how could we expect to be able to maintain a lasting friendship with our Indian allies, or make any successful war against them, considering the advantage they have by their way of fighting in these parts, and by the support they would always receive either secretly, or openly, from our enemies the French? Have we not been apprised of these events even from the plan that La Honton presented to the court of France, by order of count Frontenac, for destroying our allies the Iroquois Indians, a warlike and numerous people, who have longer than we could have expected from the treatment they have received, maintained their attachment to the
British

British interest? Has not this nation been alarmed over and over for these several years past, that if the French were suffered to possess themselves of all Canada and their pretended Louisiana, and a war should break out between the two crowns, the French would find it a matter of little difficulty with the assistance of the Indians, to invade from thence and Canada, all the English plantations at once, and drive the inhabitants into the sea?

Does not every man know that St. Laurence and the Mississippi, with the lakes and rivers that run between them, encompass by land all the provinces on the main of America belonging to the crown of Great Britain? Is it not well enough known, that from the branches of these great rivers, and some falling into the lakes Champlain and Errie, a safe and direct passage may be found out almost to every one of our settlements, by means of other large rivers, with which the whole country abounds? Have not the French, through some of these channels, heretofore, made descents from Canada upon our northern colonies, destroyed our plantations, and laid waste entire provinces? Could the inhabitants of New-York, some years since, have secured themselves from the fatal consequences of the like attempts, but by the singular bravery of the Mohock Indians, who galled the French so sensibly, that they obliged them to retire within sixty leagues of Quebec, and sue for peace on
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any terms? And how gratefully have we since treated those very Indians who saved us, I have before shewn, to the eternal scandal of this infatuated, this unhappy nation.— Is it less true that our enemies too may easily penetrate into those English colonies that lie to the southward, particularly Virginia and Carolina, through rivers that run from the same side into the Mississippi?

THE number of British subjects here are but inconsiderable, when compared to the tracts of land they inhabit, and to what they have an undoubted title; their dwellings, except towards the sea, are scattered at a great distance from each other. There seems to be little protection for us to rely on, except that of the Indians; and yet, from the little care that has been taken to attach them to our interest, have we not experienced that we cannot depend upon their friendship? If proper allowances have been granted, have we not all reason to suspect their misapplication; and that the Indians have had the least share of the money allotted?

Is it not extraordinary, that no effectual measures till lately, and when almost too late, were taken to settle and fortify Nova-Scotia, the only province in America belonging to the crown that can be made a sufficient barrier to cover any of our plantations from the invasions of the French, and check their motions on that side by sea
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and land? Shall any part of this invaluable province be dismembered from the British crown, and tacked to the French Canada?

THOUGH the French in Canada have exceeded us neither in numbers nor bravery; yet have they not greatly gained upon us for many years past? Nor can this be admired, when we consider the wisdom of their administration in this part of the world, and their sagacious method of managing the Indians.

It has been a maxim constantly observed by all princes and states, that have planted colonies, or subdued nations, to keep them *united* under the command of particular governors, and in subordination to others, who presided over the whole; to the end that justice might be impartially administered, seditions prevented, or easily suppressed, and each inferior government strengthened and supported by the rest. In the Roman empire, which contained 120 provinces, and near 300 colonies, we find only four prefects, or chief governors, under the emperor; in the kingdoms of Peru and Mexico two; and in Canada, to which Louisiana is tacked, but one. And, lest it should be imagined that an extensive command must necessarily be attended with arbitrary power, it may be affirmed, with truth, that the governor-general of Canada is more effectually restrained from breaking in, either upon the rights of the crown, or those of the subjects, than the
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most petty governors, being liable to the check of the intendant in the first case, and of the foreign council in the last.

BESIDES guards and garrisons, such hath been the policy of this neighbouring nation, that considerable bodies of regular troops have been employed in the service of their colonies, without the least burden or charge to the planters: all civil officers, as well as military, have certain yearly pensions settled upon them, and none are admitted into places of the greatest trust, but such who have distinguished themselves by their *merit*, under whose administration the country is become extremely populous and prosperous. This extraordinary encrease is, in some measure, to be ascribed to policy, that we, like all the rest that has been eligible, have neglected; and that is their intermarrying with the Indians, whom, by this means, they have firmly engaged in their interest. In every tribe they have incorporated some missionary priests; and, though few of these savages have been thoroughly proselyted to their religion; yet, in all other matters, they idolize these fathers as tutelar gods, and are entirely directed by their councils. Is it to be admired that such like arts should give them an ascendancy over these nations that we have never been able to obtain, our system being diametrically opposite?

ON the other hand, the country possessed by the English in America seems to be much
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in the same state Britain was at the first entrance of the Romans, for, as that was divided “ (to use the words of Sir William Temple) into several nations, each governed by it’s own kings and particular princes, different in their ends and councils, it was more easily subdued by united forces: for, *dum singuli pugnabant, universi vincebantur*; while they fought in single bodies, the whole island was conquered:” so in America, to draw the parallel no farther, we have thirteen colonies, at least, that have been severally governed by their respective commanders in chief, according to their peculiar laws and constitutions. I have in a former dissertation considered the several sorts of government established in these provinces, and the different views and interests they have to pursue; which independancy of each other we have shewn has tended no less to weaken the whole than the unskilful and oppressive administration of many of those who have been appointed governors of several of them. Is not the contrary of all this the constant practice of France?

IN the first settlement of Canada, the French had great difficulties to contend with, neither the country nor the climate being inviting. And the obstructions they met with from the Indians would have deterred most other nations from attempts of this nature. However, we know, that the glory of the French

French monarch will animate the people to undertake the most hazardous enterprizes.

IN 1612 the French sent many persons to settle in Canada, who would otherwise have been confined to the galleys, and numbers of sturdy beggars and loose women; and to defend the settlements from the Indians, there were some companies of regular troops transported thither, but no considerable number of troops till Mons. de Frasi appointed viceroy of America, arrived at Quebec in 1665.—After which Cangnon's regiment was broke, and both officers and men had considerable quantities of land allotted them to settle on.

AFTER the reform of the said troops, great numbers of women were sent over, under the direction of old nuns; and these who wanted to be married, made their addresses to their governess, and after the choice was determined, the marriage was concluded in the presence of a priest and a public notary, and the governor, by the king's order, bestowed on the married persons, a bull, a cow, a hog, a sow, a cock and hen, two barrels of salt meat, and eleven crowns in money.

THE French king likewise gave the missionaries sent over there considerable grants of lands in Canada; and to the directors of the seminary of St. Sulpitius at Paris, he gave the island of Monreal, with the privilege of nominating a bailiff and several other magistrates.—The said seminary sent thither a
great

great number of missionaries, and numbers of Jesuits go to Quebec, and are from thence dispersed into all parts of the country, and mix with the Indians in their townships.—As these artful priests temporize with the Indians in their customs and dress, it is chiefly by means of their influence that the French have extended their commerce and their power amongst them. Has England practised any thing like this?

WHAT at first obstructed the French in their extensive views, was the opposition they met with from the Five Nations, they being many years prevented by them from discovering the lakes, carrying on a trade, and forming alliances with the savages who lived to the westward and the southward of them.—To remove this difficulty, they applied to king Charles II. to give orders to his governor then at New-York, to forward a peace between the French and the Five Nations. However, the governor did not comply with our king Charles's orders upon that head; yet, as he was not at liberty to act openly against the French, they improved this opportunity in extending their lines, and in building *forts* to the southward, whereby the Five Nations have been much galled ever since the building of Fort Frontenac and Niagara. The Five Nations, indeed, demolished these forts; but the French soon rebuilt them, and several other forts to them,

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as a retreat to their friendly Indians when they attacked the Five-nations.

THE French have likewise cut off or destroyed numbers of those our friendly Indians by treachery, and sometimes by open force, when the English have shamefully neglected to support them; so that these brave and warlike people are greatly reduced, and at present quite incapable of withstanding the French, as heretofore; which hath been chiefly owing to our engaging them in wars with the French, and then deserting them, and leaving the whole burden of the war on them. This is notorious, and what steady aid could England expect from them, after such inglorious treatment of these people?

To secure their own Indian allies, and check and intimidate the Five Nations our allies, the French built a fort near the waterfall called *Saut Marie*, and another of considerable strength at *Crown-Point*, which is on the territory of our Five nations; and has been in many respects of more service to the French, and more injurious to the English, than any of their Forts built from *Quebec* to the river *Ohio*.—By this fort they have kept the Iroquoise, or Five Nations, under constant alarms, and distressed them and their allies in their huntings; and by virtue of *Crown-Point*, *Fort Frontenac*, *Niagara*, &c. they long kept open a communication with the western Indians.—Hereby they prevented the English from making a proper use of the

five nations against the eastern Indians, who inhabit Gaspassie, a part of Nova-Scotia, and are engaged in the French interest.—Hereby the Indians to eastward of New-England have been unrestrained in their incursions upon our settlement of Nova-Scotia, although they might have been easily prevented, if the Five nations had in time been at liberty, with safety to themselves, to have attacked these eastern Indians in the province of Gaspassie, or the back parts of the province of Nova-Scotia.

CROWN-POINT having been erected near to the branches of Hudson's-river, which runs by *Albany* to *New-York*; and therefore, from its situation, the province of New-York has been in imminent danger; and this has endangered the safety of the whole continent of America; for if the French can once make themselves masters of New-York, will they not be enabled to cut off the communication between our northern and southern colonies? and, by the aid of the Indians, may they not have it in their power totally to destroy our English settlements? And how easily might all these evils have been prevented, since we have been first alarmed with the manifest appearance of those dangers?

INDIANS, in this part of the world, are certainly the best capable of fighting against Indians in their attacks, which are always sudden; and the French having, by our neglect

neglect or treachery, most of the Indians in their interest, it is not easy to guard against them; for in such an extended forest it is scarce possible, through swamps and thickets, for an army to pursue them with any great advantage.

THE views of the French against the English began to appear bare-facedly enough about the year 1726. Their designs in taking in the great lake was to secure the Indian and furr trade, as the building *Crown-Point* was to awe the Five Nations. Could any thing more significantly speak the designs of our enemies than these overt acts did? Instead of attending duly to these things, and protecting our Indian friends and allies, did we not, in the year 1746, leave them exposed to the French Indians, although we had then two or three regiments in the king's pay at New-England, that were not any way employed in the service of the crown? If, on declining the expedition to Quebec, those troops had joined the quota's to be supplied by the other colonies, the English would, in all probability, have taken *Crown-Point*, and have been thereby enabled, by the assistance of the Five Nations, to have drawn off from the French interest the southern and western Indians. And would not this step have had the further good effect, as to have kept the Indians to the eastward of New-England in such subjection to our Five Nations, as to have pre-

vented our frontier settlements in Nova-Scotia being annoyed? Had also the misunderstanding, which then subsisted in New-York and Massachuset's-Bay, been wisely prevented, as they ought to have been, we could not have wished for a more favourable opportunity of humbling the French in those parts, and disconcerting all the measures which they had many years taken to bring things to the extremity to which they are now arrived. Will not this convince us, that the very constitution of our colonies is not so happily framed as could be wished, nor the whole of them so happily united and cemented in interest as could be desired for their mutual interest and security?

MANY of the Indians to the west of the Appalachian mountains have acknowledged themselves subjects to the crown of Great Britain; and were we to determine, as the French aim at, the territories of those Indians to be within the French limits, it would be throwing those Indian allies, as well as those to the northward, into the arms of France, and prove destructive of all our frontier settlements here, and put an entire stop to the trade and commerce which hath been hitherto carried on with them. And can we suppose that the French would not, in such case, instantly erect divers forts within their territories, and compel these Indians to make eternal war upon us, as it has always been, and will ever be, the policy

licy of France to stir up their friendly Indians to annoy our frontier settlements, and afterwards disavow every act done by them?

THE ambition of the French in extending their empire, it is well known, is without any bounds or limits; and, therefore, they encourage every scheme that has the least prospect of forwarding their grand design. In relation to which it may not be improper to mention the scheme of an officer of some note in the French service in America, viz. "That the court of France ought to use their utmost endeavours to make themselves masters of the English islands in the West-Indies, and to encourage the English colonies on the continent of America TO UNITE AND FORM A REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT; *and that in order to induce them thereto, it would be for the service of France to open all their ports to them both in Europe and America.*" However wild and extravagant such schemes as these may appear, yet it may be observed that the encouragement, which we have seen the French have given to the commerce of our northern continent colonies, with their islands, and many of their ports in old France, seems to countenance something of this kind. Should not a scheme of this kind, at such a conjuncture, so alarm the court of England as to guard effectually against it? To which end, does it not really concern us to think of putting these colonies under a different

regulation, even in point of constitution and government? Have not the French a governor-general and a lieutenant-governor of Canada, and Louisiana, or Mississippi? and how their government in this part of the world has been conducted, we have sufficiently shewn, and now too sensibly experience.

AND as a war is once more broke out in this part of the world, a short retrospect of what has formerly passed upon this occasion may possibly contribute to put us upon our guard in our future negotiations, with so wise and so powerful an enemy. To which purpose the sentiments of a noble lord, while the treaty of Utrecht was upon the tapis, should not be rejected—"I hope, said he, that Canada, which we missed gaining in war, will be restored to us at the peace now in agitation, and that Annapolis Royal, which we have recovered, will, with the whole country of Nova Scotia, as far eastward as the island of St. Paul, forever remain to the crown of Great Britain. They originally belonged to it in fact, and do of right now—All that country, on both sides of the river St. Lawrence, was seized for the crown, about the close of the fifteenth century, by Sir Sebastian Cabot, grand pilot to our king Henry VII. and by him sent to find out such parts of North America as were left undiscovered by Columbus.

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THE French pretend, indeed, to a discovery of it by John Verrazan, a Florentine, but this was in—— which, being of later date, could give the French no right to it. King James I. therefore, knowing his title to be good, did, in 1621, make a grant of this country to Sir William Alexander (afterwards earl of Sterling) who settled a colony there by the name of Nova Scotia, and held possession of it several years. Yet, upon the marriage of king Charles I. with the lady Henrietta Maria, it was, by order of the king, given up to the French.

IN 1627 and 28, we got it again, and the north side of the river called Canada, was given to Sir David Kirk, who was both proprietor and governor. And the south side (called by the French Acadie) fell again into the hands of Sir William Alexander.

IN 1632, it was again given away, though the king when he found the French had possessed themselves of the whole country, declared publicly, that he had given away only the *forts*, and not the *soil*, and, therefore, attempted to recover it again, but failed: besides, the king of France obliged him to pay, in lieu of the *forts* 5000 l. to Sir David Kirk, which he never did; and his family was thereby ruined.

CROMWELL, weighing the premises, sent colonel Sedgwicke, in 1654, and retook it; and when he made peace with France the fol-

lowing year, and their ambassador made pressing instances for the restitution of it, yet he would not part with it, insisting that it was the ancient inheritance of the crown of England, and did of right belong to it. Whereupon Mr. St. Estcount, son and heir to Mr. Claude de la Tour, a French refugee, who bought Nova Scotia of the earl of Sterling, came over to England, and making out his title, had it delivered to him, and then sold it to Sir Thomas Temple, who was governor of it till the restoration; soon after which, king Charles delivered it up again to the French, and Canada with it, where they both rested, to the unspeakable loss and detriment of the crown and the plantations, till colonel Nickolson recovered the former——From whence it is evident, that both Canada and Nova Scotia were the antient inheritance of the crown of England—Wherefore, the only question is, whether the king of England had power to alienate these countries; which, being incorporated into the crown, were parts of the commonwealth, and descended to them from their ancestors? The civilians, and all that have wrote of the laws of nations, have established it as a rule, *non alienandæ sunt imperii partes*. They expressly say, *That a prince can no more alienate any part of his dominions, than the people may renounce their obedience*—Thus Baldwin, Molina, Bodin, Mattheus Parisiensis, Grotius, and Puffendorf.

fendorf. And, for our own laws, Sir Robert Cotton, in his preface to the abridgement of the rolls in the tower, observes, That our parliaments have in all times, been careful to resume lands alienated from the crown, which they condemned as an undue practice, and, therefore, re-united them.

If then it was wrong to dispose of lands that were the patrimony of the crown, how much more must it be to give away the subjects property, and to alienate part of the empire to a foreign power? If the former were to be inviolable, then the latter, *a fortiori*, must be sacred and unalienable—If it be pleaded, that these countries came to the crown by acquisition, and, therefore, may be disposed of at pleasure; I reply; sure it is, that they were not acquired by Charles the First and Second, but came to them by hereditary descent: and further, that, if acquisition gives a right of alienation, then it is within the prerogative to give or sell Ireland, and all the plantations, to any potentate in Europe, which, I believe, no lawyer in Great Britain will give under his hand for law.

Our title appears equal on both sides of the river St. Lawrence; that is Canada on the north, and Nova Scotia, or (as the French call it) Acadie, on the south. But I must beg leave to say, that in point of interest, the latter is of more consequence to the crown than the former: for, when that is in the French hands, it is a bridle to the eastern
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parts of New England, where the tall pines grow, which are yearly brought home in the mast-fleet ; and, indeed, where there is such a vast quantity of naval stores of all sorts, as is not to be found in any part of the world. I conceive, therefore, that, seeing naval stores are growing scarce and valuable all over Europe, and the strength and glory of our nation depend upon them, and yet we are at the pleasure of the Rufs and the Swedes, whether we shall have them or no, and that at their own excessive prices * ; surely we should take care to secure what we have in America, as an inestimable treasure.

BESIDES, if we should leave this country to the French, we shall be defeated of our ends in turning them out of Newfoundland ; for they will here find as good a fishery as they left there, and infinitely better harbours, and consequently, will still be able to bring their fish to Europe, and damp our markets, as formerly ; and we shall have one fatal disadvantage more by the bargain, in that we remove them from the island to the continent, where they have more room to spread and encrease, to the terror of his Majesty's

* The Swedes, in the year 1710, established a monopoly of pitch and tar, and had their factories at London and Lisbon, &c. and sent the same in their own shipping to foreign markets, and set their own price upon them ; which first induced the parliament of England to think of encouraging these things by a bounty, in our plantations.

subjects. In a word then, if we do not effectually preserve and maintain every inch of land, which is comprehended under the province of Nova Scotia, our naval stores are gone, our fishery is extremely hurt, and we lose the only opportunity which we probably may ever have, to establish the peace and the security of all the flourishing British colonies on the continent; which I hope her Majesty and her ministry will, in their wisdom, consider."

"THE French (says another gentleman of great attention to these affairs) whom all the world acknowledge to be an enterprising, great, and politic nation, are so sensible of the advantages of foreign colonies, both in reference to empire and trade, that they have used all manner of artifices to lull their neighbours asleep with fine speeches and plausible pretences, whilst they craftily endeavour to compass their designs by degrees, though at the hazard of encroaching on their friends and allies, and depriving them of their territories and dominions in time of profound peace, and contrary to the most solemn treaties—For, besides their seizing on, and settling as they have done, the great river Mississippi, and some parts of the north side of the bay of Mexico, and the claim they clandestinely made to another of our southern colonies, they, in some of their writings boast, that their colony of *Louisiana* hath no other bounds to the north than the *Artic Pole*, and that

that it's limits to the West, and North-west are not known much better, but extend to the *South-sea*, *Japan*, or wheresoever they shall think fit to fix them, if they can be persuaded to fix any at all; intending thereby to deprive the British nation of all that vast tract of land situate between the Gulph of Mexico and Hudson's bay, which includes our province of Carolina (which the French have confidently called Louisiana) the great lake, and the whole country of our five Indian nations, with the furr, the peltry, and the other trade thereof.

WE are sensible what clamours were raised at the concessions made to France, on the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht. There is scarce a man well versed in the interest of trade and plantations, but blamed the then ministry, for not insisting on the surrender of Canada, as well as Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, for the security of our northern colonies on the continent of America, and the Traffic thereof; nor ought they to have allowed them the possession of *Cape Breton*, if they had well considered or understood the nature of the fishery in those seas.

THE history of former ages, and the experience of these latter times, have informed us, that the French have ever been troublesome neighbours, wheresoever they were seated: historians asserting, that the natural levity and restlessness of their temper, their enterprising genius, and ambition of extending
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their dominions, and raising the glory and grandeur of their monarchs, contribute in a great measure to make them so.—Wherefore, it is to be hoped, that the British nation will be so far from continuing idle spectators of the unreasonable and unjust usurpations and encroachments of the French on the continent of America, that they will let them know, they have enough already of *Canada* and *Cape Breton*; and that it is expected they abandon their new acquisitions on the *Mississippi*, and the *Bay of Mexico*, that river and country belonging of right to the crown of Great Britain. And, I believe, it will scarce be denied, that, at present, whilst they are weak, and in the infancy, and confusion of their settlements in *Louisiana* *, we have a much better chance, and are in far better circumstances to put in our claim to, and dispute the right and possession of that and other lands, *than we shall be some years hence, when they have augmented the number of their inhabitants, debauched the natives to their party, and further strengthened themselves by securing with forts and garrisons the passes of the rivers, lakes, and mountains, even though they should not have obtained any advantage over the Spaniards, or enriched themselves with the wealth of Mexico.*

* How timely has this nation been alarmed, and would take no warning!

I MUST acknowledge, that, in case the British nation should be so far infatuated, as not to assert their right to this so noble, and to them so useful and necessary a colony, and endeavour to regain the possession thereof, or secure, at least, so much of it as lies on the back of our plantations, as far westward as the Mississippi: it would be much more eligible, and for their interest, that the Spaniards were masters of it than the French; we not having so much cause to apprehend the same danger, either to our colonies, trade, and navigation, from the first, as from the last; though I am far from admitting the cession of it to either of them, on any terms whatsoever, without an absolute and apparent necessity, &c. And I am apt to think that prudence or policy will or ought to prompt us to keep a balance of power in America, as well as nearer home; and that, as we have, for many years past, found it our interest to check the growing power of France, and set bounds to their dominion in Europe, we shall not easily be induced to allow them to encroach on, and deprive us of our colonies and plantations in America.

It has been said, that the Spaniards heretofore have been very uneasy at the so near neighbourhood of the French on the Mississippi, and are, perhaps, more jealous of the consequences thereof than we are, *though not more so than we ought to be*; and it is presumed,

sumed, that, on a proper application and encouragement, they will join with us to oppose and dispossess them of their settlements here, and in the bay of Mexico, lest they render themselves sole masters of the navigation thereof, and, with the assistance of the Indians, make irruptions into the very heart of their colonies, attack their towns, seize their mines, and fortify and maintain themselves therein."

SHOULD not the present then be the time, when the court of England might convince that of Spain of her danger?—Does not Spain remaining unalarmed, in all appearance too significantly indicate her secret union with France?

AFTER treating of the settlements of the French on the continent of America, it may be useful to make some observations in relation to their other settlements in this part of the world.

In 1701, the French island colonies of Martinique, Guardaloupe, Hispaniola, Cayenne, Grenade, Marie Galante, St. Cruce, Petit Guave, contained 8850 white men, and 45600 blacks, according to the representation of the French council of commerce; but by a calculation made in 1751, the French then had, in the said colonies, upwards of 51500 white men, fit to bear arms, independent of many thousands of sailors employed in the trade of the colonies, and 364800 slaves of both sexes; and since the
encrease

encrease of their colonies, they have encroached upon the English, in settling the islands of St. Lucia, Tobago, Dominico, &c.

THE great aim of the French for many years has been to dupe us by intrigue and treaty in our greatest, even our commercial interests, in several parts of America; for the French encroachments on St. Domingo, being ceded as a right, was thought of little consequence, but it has proved such, that both Spain and Britain have just reason to repent to this day; since, by that means, the Spaniards of that island are become little better than sawers of wood and drawers of water to the French; and our trade to Jamaica has severely felt the establishment of such a power, in the track of navigation through the windward-passage to Europe.

BEFORE the treaty of Utrecht was ratified, and in the very interval between the cessation of arms in Europe, and the time it was to take effect in America, a French Squadron was equipped, and dispatched privately, to invade, take and destroy the British Leeward-Islands, as the much-envied rivals of France in the sugar trade; and, first, Antigua was the destined sacrifice, as the principal and most important of these islands to Britain, for excellent harbours and situation in the track of navigation to the other Leeward-Islands, and Jamaica. But Mons. Caffart, who commanded the expedition, failed in the attempt, partly by the vigilance of the inhabitants, and

and partly by some lucky accidents, but *not by our naval power*; and, afterwards, attacking Montserrat, he ruined it so effectually, that it is hardly restored to its former condition to this day.

THE plunder of that island falling very short of the expence of the expedition, and the French having found that open force could not give them a superiority in these islands, have, since the peace of Utrecht, constantly increased their possessions and power, by barefaced encroachments; first, upon Dominico, a fruitful island, in sight of Montserrat, inhabited by Indians, the aborigines of these islands, who, for several generations have been subjects of England, under a commission from lord Gray, and his successors, and the governors of Barbadoes.

IN 1722 the late duke of Montague, having obtained a grant from the crown of the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent (two of the Caribbee-Islands, always included for many years in the commissions of the successive governors of Barbadoes, from the kings of England) provided ships, military stores, and much people, at a great expence, to possess those islands: but soon after landing at St. Lucia, they were forced off by the French of Martinico, pursuant to an express order of their monarch. Though, at that juncture, the court of England did not think

it advisable to resent this behaviour of the French, yet his present majesty king George II. sent the following instructions to Henry Worsley, Esq; governor and commander in chief of this island, as all his predecessors had been, who were governors of barbadoes.

“ Trusty and well-beloved, &c.

“ Whereas the French have for many
 “ years claimed a right to the island of St.
 “ Lucia, and do insist, that the right of the
 “ islands of St. Vincent and Dominico, under your government, is in the Caribbeans
 “ now inhabiting the same; although *we*
 “ *have an undoubted* right to all the said
 “ islands, yet we have thought fit to
 “ agree with the French courts, that, until
 “ *our right be determined*, the said Islands
 “ shall be entirely evacuated by both nations.
 “ It is, therefore, our will and pleasure, and
 “ you are accordingly to signify the same to
 “ such of our subjects as shall be found inhabiting any of *our* said islands, that they do
 “ quit them till the right shall be determined
 “ as aforesaid, within thirty days from the
 “ publication hereof in each of the said
 “ islands. And you are to use your best
 “ endeavours, that no ships whatsoever frequent the said islands, during the time
 “ aforesaid, except for wood and water. But
 “ it is our will and pleasure, that you do not
 “ execute

“ execute this order, until the French go-
 “ verner of Martinico shall have received the
 “ like directions from the French court,
 “ and shall jointly with you put the same in
 “ execution, without exception, &c.

“ 30 Nov. 1730. H. NEWCASTLE.”

FROM these instructions, is it not apparent that the courts of England and France had come to an agreement about the immediate *state* of this island, but not as to their *right*? For does not our sovereign declare explicitly that he looked upon his *right* to be wholly unimpeached by this dispute? And it most certainly was, and still so remains. This will more evidently appear from the French king's letter on this head to the governor of Martinico, dated the 26th of the month following, that the *state* only, not the *right* of the island, was the point settled.

“ *Monsieur de Champigny,*

“ THE English have, for some time past,
 “ formed pretensions to the island of St.
 “ Lucia, which belongs to me, and to
 “ which I have an incontestable right.
 “ They have laid the same pretensions to
 “ the islands of St. Vincent, and Dominico,
 “ which belong to the Caribbeans, natives
 “ of the country, according to the treaty of
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“ the 31st of March, 1660, and in the
 “ possession of which it is my intention to
 “ support them. I have, nevertheless, agreed
 “ with the court of England, that, *till the*
 “ *pretensions are determined, the said island*
 “ *shall be evacuated by both nations, &c.*”

IN order to know the foundation of the pretensions of the court of England to this island, it may be requisite to give a succinct history thereof.

THE French authors, particularly father Labat, say, that before 1637, neither French nor English thought of settling themselves on this island, because of the common attacks they met with from the Caribbeans of the other islands; and that both nations frequented it for catching tortoise, and building canoes, as an island then destitute of governor, fort, or people. But both Labat, and Tertre, another French author, agree, that the English first settled in this island in 1637, and lived here eighteen months, or more, without any disturbance from the natives, or others, till the year 1639, when the savages drove them out, by reason of an act of treachery in an English master of a ship, who kidnapped two of the natives from Dominico, and sold them for slaves. The savages of Martinico and St. Vincent resented this treatment by a massacre of many of the English at Barbadoes and Antigua,
 and

and afterwards at St. Lucia, where, in the night-time, they killed the governor and most of the inhabitants, plundered the warehouses, and did incredible mischief, which obliged those who escaped to fly to Montserrat. This so terrified the English, that they neglected for some time to resettle.

IN 1664, M. de Parquet, the French governor of Martinico, sent 35 or 40 men from Granada, under M. de Rouffelon, well supplied with ammunition and provision, who took possession of the island, and built a fort. Rouffelon marrying one of their women, became beloved by the natives, and the French, till 1654, enjoyed tranquility.—But Rouffelon dying, and being succeeded by La Riviere, the savages abominating the neighbourhood of the French, resolved to drive them out of the island, and killed that French governor, and others who succeeded him.

IN 1658, Parquet, the French governor of Martinico, sent over a new governor, Mons. Aigremont. In a few months after his arrival, the English attacked the fort, but were beat off: nevertheless the natives killed the French governor in 1660.

IN 1663, the English purchased the island of the natives by a *treaty*, which was brought about by the influence of Mr. Warner, son of the governor of St. Christopher's by a Caribbean woman. That gentleman, to

whom the English had given a commission to be governor of Dominico, persuaded his countrymen to sell St. Lucia fairly to the English; and the English, in consequence of such fair purchase, sent fourteen or fifteen hundred men on board of five men of war; who being joined by 6 or 700 Caribbeans in seventeen canoes, under the command of Mr. Warner, came before this island the latter end of June, 1664, and had the fort, which was only of wood, and pallisadoed, delivered to them without resistance, on condition that Monsr. Bonnart, then the French governor, with the garrison, which consisted at first but of 14 soldiers, part of whom had deserted, should be transported to Martinico, with their cannon, arms, and baggage.

A BLOODY-FLUX and famine having soon reduced this English colony from 1500 to 89 persons, among whom was the governor, Mr. Cock, and the principal officers, those who survived, abandoned the island the 6th of January, 1666, after setting fire to the fort, and dispersed themselves in the other adjacent colonies.—Two days after, a vessel arrived from the lord Willoughby, governor and captain-general of Barbadoes, and the other English Caribbee islands, to the windward of Guardaloupe with provisions, ammunition, and all necessaries; but the colony was gone.

THOUGH

THOUGH the island was thus deserted, yet even while it remained in that condition, it was always considered as a part of the British dominions, was included in every commission of the governor for the island of Barbadoes; and the governor always asserted his jurisdiction over it by frequently going thither in person with great pomp and solemnity, hoisting the king's colours, firing guns, and making all signs of sovereignty and dominion which are requisite to maintain a national right.

THE French king also, in his treaties with king Charles II. and king James II. and likewise in those of Ryswic and Utrecht, stipulated to restore to the king of Great Britain all the islands, countries, fortresses, and colonies, which may have been conquered by the French king, and such as were in possession of the king of Great Britain before the war began: which implies an apparent concession that the English first possessed this island, and had, consequently, a prior right to it, *St. Lucia* being included in the words *all the British dominions*. Nor could that right of theirs, we apprehend, be invalidated by their being drove out of it, and murdered by the savages, for the treacherous act of a captain of a merchant ship; much less could such right be destroyed, when it had been ratified and confirmed by

a fair and solemn *purchase* from the natives, in whose power alone it was to dispose of the lands and sovereignty.

LABAT the Frenchman, indeed, would insinuate that the English forfeited their right to it, because, for twenty years after they were drove out of it by the Caribbeans, they neglected to send men to it; and though they say Parquet, the French governor of Martinique, made a settlement there, they took no step to oppose him, nor did any thing either on the spot or in Europe, to support their pretensions. But who does not see that this is a bare insinuation only, and does not carry the face of any thing conclusive to prove the defect of our title?

IN 1719, the French king pretended to grant this island to the marshal d'Etreés, who sent a colony to possess, settle, and plant it. But the governor of Barbadoes immediately notified to the commanding officer of the said colony, that, as the island belonged to his Britannic majesty, if the French persisted in settling on it, he should be obliged to dispossess them by force; and, at the same time, our ambassador at Paris represented the matter with so much spirit and justice, as a violation of the rights of his Britannic majesty, that orders were sent to the marshal d'Etreé's colony to evacuate the island; which they did accordingly.

THREE

THREE years after this, his late Majesty king George I. granted this island, and that of St. Vincent, as we have seen, to his late grace *John duke of Montague*: and, from the deduction of the particulars before given, it appears plain enough, that the English have an undoubted right to this territory: that the French have been no better than intruders here; and, as such, were obliged to quit it in the reign of her late majesty, as they had before done in that of king Charles II.; since which, our right to this island has been ratified and confirmed by treaties: but the French quitting it in 1719, when the marshal *d'Etreés* evacuated the same, by express orders of the French king, is an undoubted proof of our claim: for had not their ministers been sensible of their nation's having no just pretensions to St. Lucia, is it to be supposed that they would have tamely given up their settlement, after having exerted so much vigor to prevent ours? And, as it was declared, by the mutual evacuation of this island in 1722-3, that such evacuation could not, or should not, prejudice the claim of either, can it be alledged, with any shadow of justice, to defeat that right, or be at all derogatory from it, though the prosecution of it was for a time, thereby, suspended?

THE

THE chief reason why the French ministry have pretended to dispute our possession of this island is, because of the situation of it being so near to their colonies, that the consequences, which they apprehended would follow from it, put them upon the attempt to settle here, more than any advantages they expected from their possession of it: and the excluding us from this island seems to have answered their ends better perhaps than if it had been absolutely yielded to them: for, as to it's value to us, it has been computed that it's product and commerce might be brought to yield 200,000 l. a year to this kingdom. And, if it had been settled as intended by the late duke of Montague, and protected with proper forts and garrisons, it would have effectually secured the Leeward islands, and even Barbadoes from invasion of war; since no armament could be made, nor any expedition carried on, by the French at Martinique, against any of these colonies, but must be known at St. Lucia, almost as soon as the design is formed, by reason of it's vicinity to that island. If, St. Lucia were well inhabited by the English, the people of Martinique would know their interest better than to enter upon any expedition against Barbadoes, or the Leeward islands, when they had an enemy so near them: for they must needs consider, if their men were sent off that island,

island, to invade the leeward islands, the Barbadians would join the people of St. Lucia, and fall upon Martinique, in the absence of their men ; and so, if their design was against Barbadoes, the Leeward islands people joining those of St. Lucia, Martinique would be in the same danger ; and, by that means, not only our plantations in these parts would be entirely secured by our possession of St. Lucia, but it would, also, be in the power of the English to disturb the French, and not in the power of the French to disturb the English ; which ought to be a weighty consideration with the English to maintain their right.

MOREOVER, St. Lucia might be of the greatest advantage to us, if it were appointed the place of rendezvous for his Majesty's men of war ; because from hence they might, in case of need, continually relieve each other, and keep always cruizing on the French, whose vessels would, by this means, be always in danger of being intercepted by the king's ships ; and the Martinicans would have no reason to boast, as they have done, that they have maintained their island, in time of war, chiefly by privateering on the English : whereas, if St. Lucia was settled, and proper measures pursued, such mischiefs would not only be prevented for the future, but the English would soon grow too powerful for the French,
who,

who, at present, have greatly the advantage of the English in privateering.

THE French, also, used every artifice to prevent our possession of the island of St. Vincent, which was included in the patent of his grace the duke of Montague for St. Lucia. They poisoned the natives in our disfavour, making them believe that we came to enslave them, when our intention was quite otherwise. The like policy has been practised by this nation in regard to Dominico and Tobago.

AND are not the motives to this conduct of the French very apparent? Such is the natural situation of the Caribbee islands, that they run in a chain across that part of the western ocean which terminates upon the continent of South-America. Of that chain Antigua is the northern, and Tobago the southern link. The French being possessed, by right, of Martinique, Guardaloupe, and several small islands in the center; and, by late encroachments, have extended their possession to Dominico, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago: so that France has now the whole chain of Caribbee islands *, of any value for

* Barbadoes, being to the eastward, is not mentioned as in the chain of the Caribbee islands; but yet, being one of them, is, from it's nearness to Tobago, in more imminent danger of invasion from that island, whenever it becomes well settled by the French, because an armament may be conveyed from one to the other in a very few hours; for the same reason the trade of Barbadoes must be subject to perpetual interruption from privateers.

extent and harbours, (except Antigua) which are situated in the track of navigation to the coast of the Caraccas and Carthagena to the southward ; and to St. Eustatia, St. Thomas, Santa Cruz, Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica, Porto-Bello, and all the coast of New Spain, from thence to the bay of Mexico, and Mississipp, to the northward. What, therefore, can hinder the French, in time of war, from intercepting all the navigation from Europe, in the passages to these several ports, whenever the naval power of France is brought to an equality with ours ? more, especially, if Antigua should also fall under their dominion, which is far from being impossible, if it's great port, called English harbour (the best of any in that part of the world for the reception and security of a British squadron) is not well fortified, and the Leeward islands powerfully protected by our royal navy. For, if Antigua should be lost, or it's best harbour ruined, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher's, and all the lesser islands to the westward of them, must, for want of harbours and protection, fall of course into the hands of our enemies. In that case, of what value can Jamaica be to this kingdom, when our fleets cannot pass thither without a convoy, superior to the naval power of France ? And what trade can bear the immense expence of such convoys ? Can Britain with safety, therefore, rest satisfied

fied under the usurpations of France, and, by that means, give it the power of intercepting all the trade of Europe to America?

THUS it evidently appears, what influence these encroachments of France here also will have upon the whole trade and navigation of America in time of war. But this is not all our misfortune; for by these possessions the French, *even in times of peace*, cut off all supplies of hard timber, without which it is impossible to carry on the sugar-works of Barbadoes and the Leeward islands, but at immense expence, from the far distant colonies of the Dutch on the continent of South-America, Berbice and Essequibe: for neither Barbadoes nor the Leeward islands now produce large hard timber, fit for these purposes, nor even small timber enough fit for carts, and other carriages necessary for plantation use; and, therefore, *Barbadoes* has, for many years, been supplied with a good share of such timber from St. Lucia and Tobago, and the leeward islands from Dominico, till the French have pretended to lay claim to it.

As the British dominions in North-America cannot furnish timber proper for these uses *, and none now is to be had but from

* Oak, or other timber of cold countries, splits in the hot climates, and soon decays; besides being subject to be eaten to a honey-comb, by animals called *wood-ants*, more destructive of wood on shore, than worms are to the bottom of ships when in harbour.

the Dutch, at a great distance, it follows, that the very existence of the British sugar-colonies must depend upon the courtesy of the Dutch, and that courtesy bought at their own price, besides the expence of a longer voyage ; or else we must possess ourselves immediately of all those islands which the French have unjustly usurped a right to. If this is not done, our sugar-colonies must be ruined for want of supplies of timber, even in times of peace (as has been observed) and France will, by that means, *engross the sugar-trade of the world* †.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the agreements made with the French in regard to the evacuation and neutrality of St. Lucia, &c. yet even before they declared in favour of the Spaniards in the last war, they seized the island of St. Lucia as *their own* in 1744, and sent a governor to it, and a number of men, and 40 cannon, from 12 to 48 pounders, and have since fortified it with two forts, besides batteries ; and they have now between 2000 and 3000 white people upon it, and seem resolved to maintain this island, as well as Dominico and St. Vincent, although, according

† That the French have, for many years past, supplanted us in the sugar-trade at foreign markets, is certain. By what measures they gradually and insensibly did this, and greatly encreased the trade and navigation of their island colonies in general, may be easily inferred from their American policy, as we shall display it.

to the late treaty of Aix la Chapelle, they are obliged to evacuate the same.

BEFORE the present war the French had about 2000 white men, being French, English, and Danes, besides Indians, under a French governor, at Dominico, and erected several sugar-works on that island, and raised great quantities of sugar, indigo, cotton, and other West-India products, on this island, as well as on St. Lucia.

THEY peopled also St. Vincent's, and intermarried with the natives. They raised great quantities of tobacco, corn, and coffee, on this island: and they obtained such an ascendancy over these Indians, as to make proclamation in that island, that no English, Dutch, or Danes, should have any commerce with that island without a protection from the general of Martinique.

THEY also fortified and settled Tobago before the present war, in spite of our naval force in these parts *, and insisted on its belonging

* The following instructions were given to Robert Lowther, Esq; on the 23d of February, 1714 15, when he was appointed governor of Barbadoes, St. Lucia, Dominico, and St. Vincent, and the rest of his majesty's Caribbee islands to the windward of Guardaloupe; which instructions have been continued to the several governors of Barbadoes since that time. Inst. 106. " If any of the subjects of "a foreign
 " power, or state, have already planted themselves upon
 " any of the islands of St. Lucia, Dominico, St. Vincent,
 " or Tobago, or shall hereafter attempt to do the same,
 " you are to assert our right to the said islands, exclusive of
 " all

longing to the French king. From this last-mentioned island they may invade Barbadoes in one stretch, and in one night, as it lies southwardly of Barbadoes, distance about 30 leagues.

THESE attempts of our rivals in times of peace were certainly undertaken with a design to supplant the English in all their sugar colonies, because they had before lands in their hands sufficient to raise West-India products wherewith to supply all Europe and America.

DID not this conduct of the French require the utmost attention? for before the present war, was it not of the utmost ill consequence to the British nation, by reason, as observed, of their situation? The harbour of Petite Carcenage in St. Lucia, will hold double the number of ships and other vessels

“ all others; and in order to hinder the settlement of any
 “ colony there, you are to give notice to such foreigners
 “ that shall pretend to make such settlement, that, unless
 “ they shall remove in such time as you in your discretion
 “ shall assign, you shall be obliged by force to dispossess
 “ them, and send them off the said island.”

This instruction has been looked upon, in time of peace, as insufficient with regard to our naval force, since the commanders of his majesty's ships of war have no direction from the lords of the admiralty to act in pursuance of the said royal instructions.

Inst. 109. “ You are not to encourage any planting, nor
 “ to grant to any person any lands or tenements which are
 “ now, or hereafter shall be, in our power to dispose of in
 “ any of our islands under your government, except Bar-
 “ badoes, until you shall receive further orders from us
 “ therein.”

that ever were in all the Caribbee-Islands at any one time, and is capable of being made as strong as Louisbourg in the island of Cape-Breton, as it may be fortified so as to make it impracticable for any vessel to force it without being sunk, or torn to pieces. This will give the French such a balance of power, and such an increase of strength in that part of the world, as to endanger the loss of Barbadoes and the Leeward-Islands; and then Jamaica, on which they have long had an invidious eye, must of course become a sacrifice, as that island alone cannot withstand such a growing power, and additional strength, as must naturally be the case by neglecting this important island of St. Lucia, together with Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago. What must then be the inevitable doom of our northern colonies and fisheries in America, without our British sugar colonies? And, to carry the consequence in its natural gradation, what will become of our British trade to Africa and America? Must it not unavoidably fall into the hands of the French, under the protection of a Louisbourg in Cape-Breton, in the north; and in the south, another Louisbourg of St. Lucia? If this comes to pass, will not the dominion of the seas necessarily fall into the French hands?

ACCORDING to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, it is stipulated, in the ninth article, as follows, viz.

“ THEIR

“ THEIR Britannic and Most Christian
 “ majesties oblige themselves to cause to be
 “ delivered, upon the exchange of the ra-
 “ tifications of the present treaty, the dupli-
 “ cates of the orders addressed to the com-
 “ missaries appointed to restore and receive
 “ respectively whatever may have been con-
 “ quered, on either side in the West-Indies ;
 “ and *every thing besides* shall be re-establish-
 “ ed on the foot that they were, or *ought to*
 “ *be*, before the present war.

“ THE said respective commissaries shall
 “ be ready to set out on the first advice that
 “ their Britannic and Most Christian Ma-
 “ jesties shall receive of the exchange of the
 “ ratifications, furnished with all necessary
 “ instructions, commissions, powers, and
 “ orders, for the most expeditious accom-
 “ plishment of their said majesties intentions,
 “ and of the engagements taken by the
 “ present treaty.”

THE islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent,
 and Dominica, were, *or ought to have been*,
 neutral, at the time of this treaty, according
 to a formal evacuation, by commissaries ap-
 pointed in Barbadoes and Martinique, to re-
 pair to St. Lucia for that purpose, in pursu-
 ance of express orders from their Britannic
 and Most Christian majesties, as before-men-
 tioned. The island of Tobago remained as
 it was before the late war, at the time of the
 treaty ; but was, in barefaced violation there-
 of,

of, settled by the French in January, 1749-50, under the protection of two French ships of war, which were sent from Brest for that purpose: and, therefore, were not the French obliged by treaty forthwith to have evacuated this island? As they did not do it, is it not plain they never intended it?

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.



